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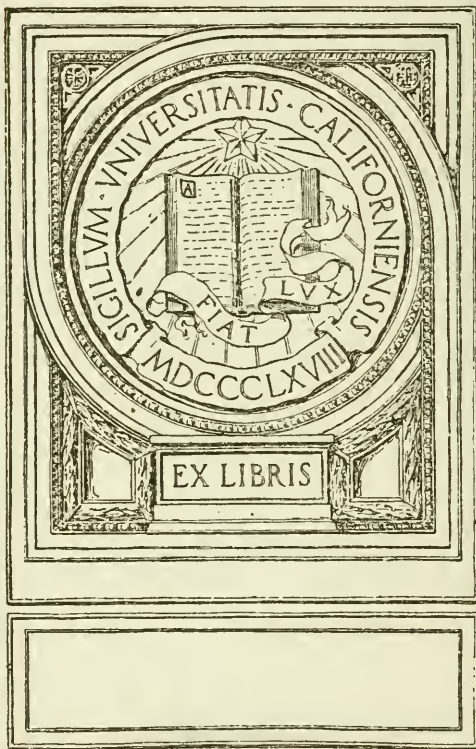
AUTOCORRELATION OF THE CULEX

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AUTHORSHIP OF THE CULEX

By R. B. STEELE

Late literary history assigned to Vergil a *Culex* written in his early years. Whatever weight may be assigned to these statements as proof of authorship, they at least give the foundation for a claim that the present *Culex* is the work of Vergil. The declaration of the poem (8 ff.):

Posterius graviore sono tibi Musa loquetur
Nostra, dabunt cum securos mihi tempora fructus,
Ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu,

indicates that the work is a youthful production, and there is no reason for not taking the words at their face value, for the immaturity of the writer is evident from his words. The prolixity of the invocation 11 ff. is noticeable, as well as the redundancy of such passages as 158 ff.:

Mitem concepit proiectus membra soporem,
Anxius insidiis nullis, sed lentus in herbis
Securo pressos somno mandaverat artus,
Stratus humi dulcem capiebat corde quietem.

Like this is 395 f.:

Congestum cumulavit opus, atque aggere multo
Telluris tumulus formatum crevit in orbem.

As examples of single lines we quote 179, applied to the serpent:

Ardet mente, furit stridoribus, intonat ore;

184 ff., describing the place where the shepherd was stung by the gnat:

... Namque
Qua diducta genas pandebant lumina, gemmans
Hac senioris erat mature pupula telo
Icta levi;

242, in the portrayal of Tantalus:

Gutturis arenti revolutus in omnia sensu;

and 377, of the soul of the gnat before Minos:

Verberibus saevae cogunt sub iudice Poenae.

Notice also the touch of finery at the close of the invocation (C. 23):

Te cultrice vagus saltus feror inter et antra,

where he had in mind an old Latin proverb.

The *Culex* shows us the shepherd (58 ff.) and his music (100). Vergil differentiates, giving the shepherds in the *Eclogues* and the farmers in the *Georgics*. The latter (2, 451 ff.) begins as does the *Culex* section (58 ff.), transfers some of the elements of happiness from *pastor* to *agricola*, and shows a finer discrimination in artistic

Aeneid at least suggests that Martial believed that all the material was Vergilian.

When Silius Italicus began his poetical work his mind was saturated with the phraseology of Vergil. The evidence of this appears at every turn. Along with this went a comparatively free use of the larger works of the *Appendix*—the *Aetna*, *Ciris* and *Culex*. A single illustration must suffice for each of the first two. He writes of the war cry at Cannae (9, 304 ff.):

Tollitur immensus *deserta ad sidera* clamor,
Phlegraeis quantas *effudit* ad aethera *voces*
Terrigena in *campis* exercitus. aut sator aevi
Quanta Cyclopa nova fulmina *voce poposcit*
Iupiter *exstructis* cum *montibus* ire
Magnanimos raptum caelestia regna gigantas.

This is a condensation of the account of the battle scene in the *Aetna* (41-72). The scene is laid Phlegraeis . . . castris. Temptavere . . . gigantes, construitur magnis . . . montibus agger, the impius et miles . . . metuentia . . . | Provocat, Provocat admotis *per inertia sidera* signis, magno tonat ore pater, and Iuppiter ignes | Increpat. Silius utilized the last in his account of the battle of Cannae where Paulus (10, 6) Increpat horrendum; cf. 1, 80 f. He may have taken *-ert-a* from *inertia*, and framed it into another word *deserta*.

The enrobenment of Anna (8, 187) ut erat tenui corpus velamina tecta | Prosiluit stratis, is that of Scylla Romanized (*Ciris* 252):

Quae prius in tenui fuerat succincta crocota.

He has a few non-Vergilian words, as *refovere* (3, 637: C. 122; 213) which he may have drawn from the *Culex*, but there can be no doubt in regard to his combination of words, as casus sociarat (1, 76: C. 193); qua diducta (1, 198: C. 185); lotos nimis hospita baca (3, 311): lotos . . . hospita dum nimia . . . dulcedine (C. 123 ff.); Stygis ille lacus viduataque lumine regna (3, 601), lucosque . . . opacos (3, 684): C. 372 f.:

. . . ego Ditis opacos
Cogor adire lacus, viduos a lumine Phoebi;

Musae | Sacra ferent . . . Phoebō Miranda loquetur (3, 619 ff. of Domitian): tibi Musa loquetur (C. 8); implacabilis (4, 623), simul immedicabilis ira (1, 147): implacabilis ira nimis (C. 238). At nomine solo | In terris iam nota Fides (1, 329 f.) is the present for ex rure recessit | Iustitiae prior illa fides (C. 227). From the latter part of his work we give (14, 471) septena modulatus harundine carmen, which was evidently suggested by C. 100; and the curious verse endings (14, 539) Poeni densentur in unum, suggested by (C. 233) densentur in ostia Poenae.

As a somewhat curious item it may be mentioned that Tacitus (*Ann.* 2, 54, 6) has fessas refovebat which is in C. 122. As Vergil does not use the verb later, this may be a reminiscence from the *Culex*. Besides this, the first of his words (*Ann.* 1, 9, 16):

Non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisset

has nearly the same metrical swing as C. 254:

At discordantes Cadmeo semine fratres.

Fortunae munere occurs (C. 340: *Ann.* 16, 6, 9), and the general statement vices hominum (C. 339) may have suggested temporum vices ita morum (*Ann.* 3, 55, 19).

Statius selected the *Culex* as the basis for comparison with the meritorious work of Lucan in his early years, and writes in the *Genethliacon Lucani ad Pollam* (*Silv.* 2, 7, 73):

Haec primo iuvenis canes sub aevo
Ante annos Culicis Maroniani.

Not only did he refer to the *Culex*, but he also adapted some of its words in the same skillful manner as he did passages from the undisputed works of Vergil whom he considered his poetical master. This last fact is shown by *Silvae* 4, 7, 25:

Quippe te fido monitore nostra
Thebas multa cruciata lima
Tentat audaci fide Mantuanae
Gaudia famae.

The labor indicated by the words multa cruciata lima, and also by laboratas . . . Thebas (*Silv.* 3, 2, 143), is shown in the weaving of *Culex* material into his poetry. He uses one-half of the non-Vergilian words, and three of these, *discordantes*, *truculentus* and *aversatus* occur within the limits of 75 lines (*Theb.* 10, 692; 737; 767). The *Culex* uses them in the description of the Theban brothers, and Statius apparently had the lines before him when he wrote. A part of the adaptations are phonetically equivalent to the words in the *Culex*, as implacabilis ardor (T. 1, 440): implacabilis ira (C. 236); volubile pondus (T. 3, 715): corpus revolubile (C. 169); fallentesque lacus (T. 4, 538): pallentesque lacus (C. 333); surda ferarum (*Silv.* 5, 3, 17): turba ferarum (C. 278). Some other parallels might be considered as independent statements, as femineum . . . decus (*Silv.* 2, 6, 38: C. 266); ditata triumpho (T. 5, 306): ditataque praeda (C. 343); aetherias . . . ad arces (T. 3, 220): aetherias . . . in arces (C. 42); magni vocat exorabile numen | Caesaris (*Silv.* 5, 1, 164): Ditis placabile numen (C. 271) with negative force; see *exorabile* v. 288. However, as Statius writes (*Silv.* 1 *Praef.*) Culicem legimus, the use of the phrases may be fairly interpreted as influenced by the *Culex*. There are some others about which there can be no doubt. The *Culex* has (107):

Iam medias operum partis evectus erat sol,

and this Statius adapts and paraphrases (T. 5, 85 f.) Sol operum medius summo librabat Olympo | Lucentes . . . equos. Similar to this is C. 357:

Omnis in aequoreo fluitat iam naufraga fluctu.

The transformation by Statius with *ancora* is very noticeable (T. 7, 142) natat amnis in aequore summo | Ancora. Parvulus . . . umoris . . . alumnus is perhaps an excusable description of the gnat, but crudi

torrentis alumnus (T. 8, 432) hardly suits a man. A still better illustration is (C. 311) *Ida parens feritatis* which Statius adapts for one of his characters (T. 3, 134) *magna parens . . . funeris, Ide*. The following will show other utilizations as well as adaptations: Vergil uses *multo sanguine* for which the *Culex* has in 306:

Teucra cum magno manaret sanguine tellus.

This association of *magno* was appropriated by Statius in a different phrase (*Theb.* 8, 595):

. . . *magno furor est in sanguine mergi.*

Peleus namque et Telemonia virtus (C. 297): *Telemona et Pelea contra* (*Theb.* 5, 379). *Iam Pandionias . . . puellas* (C. 251), metrically the same as *Sic Pandioniae . . . volucres*, is in a simile (*Theb.* 8, 616 ff.). The suggestion for the simile perhaps came from Catullus, and the myth is mentioned by Horace and Ovid. The description of the morn (*Theb.* 2, 135):

*Impulerat caelo gelidas Aurora tenebras,
Rorantes excussa comas multumque sequenti
Sole rubens . . . ,*

is followed by *roseus . . . Lucifer* and *pater igneus*. These taken in connection with *Theb.* 3, 222:

Turbidus aetherias currus urgebat ad arces,

show adaptation and distribution of C. 42 ff.:

*Igneus aetherias iam Sol penetrarat in arces
Candidaque aurato quatiebat lumina curru,
Crinibus et roseis tenebras Aurora fugarat.*

Another good illustration of adaptation is *Silv.* 5, 1, 253 ff.:

*Praeterea, si quando pio laudata marito
Umbra venit, iubet ire faces Proserpina laetas
Agressasque sacris veteres heroidas antris
Lumine purpureo tristes laxare tenebras.*

This is an expansion of C. 261 f.:

*Obvia Persephone comites heroidas urget
Adversas praeferre faces,*

with the substitution of *Proserpina* for *Persephone*. The description of the serpent (*Theb.* 5, 505 ff.) has *sinuosa . . . terga* for *sinuosa . . . volumina* (*Aen.* 11, 753), but on the whole it is close to C. 163-197. In both, the serpent looks and acts the same: *Immanis* (C. 164: T. 507), *torvus* (C. 189: T. 557), *furit* (C. 179: T. 521). The movements are similar (C. 167; 169; 195: T. 520). T. 524 *aera lambit* in sound resembles the latter part of C. 166:

Obvia vibranti carpens gravis aere lingua,

and *Theb.* 4, 798 has *obvia carpit*. *Per omnia visu* (*Theb.* 5, 546) is a palpable restatement of C. 168 *per omnia visus*. A single touch shows a connection between the two works, for *regemo* (C. 386) seems to have been used later only by Statius (*Theb.* 5, 389; 8, 17).

The edition of Baehrens (p. 174 ff.) refers to more than 500 lines in the *Argonautica*, in the writing of which Valerius Flaccus had in mind one or more passages from Vergil. In re-presenting this material he merely transferred it to his own work or transformed it with an eye to phonetic suggestion. Vergil writes (*Georg.* 2, 140) non tauri spirantes naribus ignem, and Valerius transforms (6, 435) tauros . . . Tartaream proflantes pectore noctem. Two shorter illustrations will suffice: Intonat ore (C. 179: *Aen.* 6, 607): protonat ira (V. F. 4, 205), detonet ira (4, 294); audacibus . . . coeptis (*Georg.* 1, 40; *Aen.* 9, 625): audacia coeptis (V. F. 2, 264). There are other similar changes of *Culex* material. Aureolos . . . corymbos (C. 144): auratis . . . corymbis (V. F. 1, 273); fama . . . numquam moritura (C. 362): aevum mansura per omne (V. F. 1, 286). The gnat in the lower world says of itself ad parilis agor eventus (C. 229), Valerius has (2, 602) non ego per . . . silentia ripae, frater, agor. Noticeable is the use of *recubare* of the shepherd in the presence of the serpent (C. 175), and of the dragon in the presence of Jason (V. F. 7, 523). Because of these changes and applications we may hold that corpus revolubile volvens (C. 169; cf. Sil. Ital. 11, 474 revolubile saxum) was the suggestion for monstrum inrevocabile (V. F. 6, 6), as *beatior* (C. 79) may have been taken over by Valerius (5, 383). Valerius drew on the *Culex* for the opening of his work (1, 11):

Sancte pater, veterumque fave veneranda canenti
Facta virum,

which reverses and slightly changes Octavi venerande . . . sancte puer (C. 25 f.; cf. sancta Pales C. 20). Valerius prays nunc nostra serenus | Orsa iuves; the *Culex* (2) states tenuem formavimus orsum. One of the most noticeable passages is (4, 277 f.):

Ille dies aegros Amyci sudoribus artus
Primum et arenti cunctantem vidit hiatu.

This is evidently a blending of *Aen.* 8, 222:

Tum primum nostri Cacum videre timentem,

and, referring to Tantalus, C. 242:

Gutturis arenti revolutus in omnia sensu.

The descriptions of the day (V. F. 2, 34 f.):

Iamque Hyperionius metas maris urget Hiberi
Currus et evectae prono laxantur habenae | Aethere.

This and (2, 444):

Et sol aetherias medias conscenderat arces,

seem to have been suggested by the *Culex* (101):

Tendit invectus radios Hyperionis ardor,

and to have anticipated Statius in the use of C. 42. Another good illustration is 1,69 f.:

. . . ignaras Cereris qui vomere terras
Imbuit et flava quercum damnavit arista.

Vergil (*Georg.* 1, 8) has the last two words *tellus | Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit arista*. The *Culex* (135 f.) changes the verb:

*Quercus ante datae Cereris quam semina vitae:
Illas Triptolemi mutavit sulcus aristas,*

evidently giving the subject of the sentence, *Cereris* and *quercum* to Valerius who was, as he thought, drawing his statement from a minor, instead of a major work of Vergil.

The thought in *Aen.* 9, 211:

Si quis in adversum rapiat casusque deusve

is the opposite of that in *C.* 193:

Qui casus sociarit opem numenve deorum,

which is reflected in *V. F.* 3, 475:

Quis tales impune moras casusve laborve | Attulit.

The *Culex* 252 has *vox Ityn edit Ityn*, while a repeated name is in the vocative in *Ecl.* 6, 44 *Hyla, Hyla*. This furnished the words for *V. F.* *rursus Hylan et rursus Hylan*, but in the same case as in the *Culex*.

The *Ciris* has in 350 *gelida . . . quatiebat ab Oeta*, and the *Culex*, as if the shepherd were in the same geographical situation, has in 202 f.:

*Iam quatit et biugis oriens Erebois equos nox
Et piger aurata procedit vesper ab Oeta.*

Compare the similar expression in *Ecl.* 8, 30 *tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam*. The verb *quatit* occurs again, but of the morn, in *C.* 42 f., a part of which is in Seneca *Oed.* 430:

Vidit aurato residere curru,

while the same form of the verb *quatiebat* is in the parody *Ludus* 4:

*Iam medium curru Phoebus diviserat orbem,
Et propter nocti fessus quatiebat habenas.*

Both Valerius and Statius evidently adapted the lines of the *Culex*, and it is not an impossibility that the parody of Seneca was based on the same lines. For an interesting series of similar lines, see *Anth. Lat.* 579-590, Vol. 2, p. 66 ff. (Riese).

Another line in the *Oedipus* (46):

Garrula per ramos avis obstrepit,

was also drawn from the *Culex* (150) *avium vox obstrepit aures, ramis* being used in an earlier part of the section. Here and there in the tragedies assigned to Seneca are pieces of phraseology resembling some in the *Culex*: *Flamma rapax* (*H. O.* 121: *C.* 103 pl.); *Ityn . . . Bistonis* (*Ag.* 707 f.): *Ityn . . . Ityn . . . Bistonius* (*C.* 252); *siti arente* (*Thy.* 4): *arenti . . . sensu* (*C.* 242); *silvas inter et lucos* (*Phaed.* 417): *saltus feror inter et antra* (*C.* 23); *lucus ilicibus niger* (*Oed.* 543): *ilicis et nigrae species* (*C.* 140); *fraude remota* (*Medea* 330: *C.* 73). *Omne . . . decus* (*C.* 341 f.) forms a compact metrical group in *Ecl.* 5, 34 *Ut decus omne*, as also in Seneca, e. g. *Thy.* 791; *Phaed.* 835.

Throughout the *De Re Rustica* of Columella there is abundant evidence of the use of the works of Vergil, and this is especially

noticeable in the tenth book. At the beginning he weaves the separated words of Vergil, or adaptations of them, into his own narrative:

. . . quae quondam spatiis exclusus iniquis
Cum caneret laetas segetes et munera Bacchi,
Et te, magna Pales, nec non caelestia mella,
Vergilius nobis post se memoranda reliquit.

Notice also the adaptation (62):

Tumque semel Stygium regem videre trementem,

transferring to Pluto what Vergil (*Aen.* 8, 222) applied to Cacus. The opening lines of the *Culex*:

Lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia,

taken in connection with 50:

Mollia sed tenui decurrere carmina versu,

is the basis of Columella 10, 225 ff.:

Me mea Calliope cura levioe vagantem
Iam revocat, parvoque iubet decurrere gyro,
Et secum gracili connectere carmina filo,
Quae canat inter opus musa modulante putator
Pendulus arbustis, olitor viridantibus hortis.

While *modulus* is used elsewhere, (*Ecl.* 5, 14; 10, 51; *Ciris* 100), only in the *Culex* and Columella is it associated with the Muse. In addition to these two works, the *Ciris* (20) has *gracilis* with a similar association *versum*; in Vergil only *Ecl.* 10, 71 with *hibisco*. *Pendulus* is also used in a similar connection (*Cu.* 52), but not elsewhere in Vergil. The plural of *viridans* is also in *Cu.* 50 v. *gramina*. Of the same import are *Pierides* . . . *Musae* (Col. 40) and *divae Pierides* (*Ci.* 93); *Pierii laticis* (*Cu.* 18) and *Pierii nemoris* (Col. 223). Similar to these is Col. 267:

Antraque Castaliis semper rorantia guttis,

which is nearer to *Cu.* 17:

Castaliaeque sonans liquido pede labitur unda,

than to *Georg.* 3, 293:

Castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.

Some other names are also of interest: *Amphitrite* at the end of a line (Col. 202: *Ci.* 73: 486), *Hyperionis aestu* (Col. 400): *Hyperionis ardor* (*Cu.* 101), and the groups in Col. 427:

Inter lascivos Satyros, Panasque biformis,

which preserve the balance of *Cu.* 115 f. *ludentes Panes in herba* | *Et Satyri*. *Lascivos* varies from *saltantes* (*Ecl.* 5, 71), while *biformis* is in *Ci.* 67 as well as *Aen.* 6, 25; 286. The unusual *Iolcos* (Col. 368) resembles *Iolciacus* (*Ci.* 377). The list of flowers given by Columella (9, 4) contains *amarantus* (*Cu.* 406), *marinus ros* (*Cu.* 403), and the adjective *Corycius* (*Ci.* 317). Compare also *semper virens pinus* (Col. 9, 3) with *Cu.* 407:

Bumastusque virens et semper florida pinus, or tinus.

Similar collocations from the tenth book are *manans unda* (Col. 394: *Cu.* 148), *florida tellus* (Col. 166: *Cu.* 70), and *Lethaeas undas* (Col. 62: *Cu.* 215). Some others are possible adaptations: *ferroque bicorni* (Col. 148): *ferroque . . . bidenti* (*Ci.* 213); *gemmae lumina* (Col. 258): *lumina, gemmans* (*Cu.* 185). The other occurrence of this participle is in *gemmae per herbas* (*Cu.* 70). The combinations *arguto gramine* (Col. 284): and *arguto hosti* (*Ci.* 186) do not resemble those in Vergil. *Sedulus* (Col. 148: *Ci.* 354), and *pudivunda* (Col. 360: *Cu.* 399) as they are not in Vergil may fairly be considered Vergilian in the eyes of Columella. *Rapax* is used with animate objects, *formica* (Col. 322) and *Scylla* (*Cu.* 331), as also with inanimate, *flammae* (*Cu.* 103) and *fluvios* (*Georg.* 3, 142). These references are sufficient to show that Columella made use of a *Culex* as well as of a *Ciris* along with other works known to have been written by Vergil.

The *Eclogues* of Calpurnius are, as it were, the work of another Vergil so closely do they reflect his method, and repeat and adapt his words. A single illustration will suffice (Calp. 8, 2: *Ecl.* 2, 13: *Georg.* 2, 328):

Texitur, et raucis resonant tua rura cicadis:
Sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis:
Avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris.

Along with this utilization of Vergil's words went also that of those of the *Aetna*, *Ciris* and *Culex*. The *gracili . . . Thalia* of the last (1) becomes *gracili sub arundine* (Calp. 8, 3), and (C. 35),

Mollia sed tenui decurrere carmina versu,

appears in Calp. (4, 152) as

O mihi tenero decurrunt carmina versu;

cf. *Piso* 198 *decurrere carmina*; 236 *tereti . . . versu*. *Non arte canora* (C. 99) suggested *non arte polita* (Calp. 4, 14), while *sol aureus* (C. 42: Calp. 4, 54) and *pallente corymbo* (C. 405: Calp. 7, 9) are the same. The *Ciris* has (195 ff.) *gaudete . . . quae viridis silvas lucosque sonantes* | *Incolitis, gaudete . . . gaudete*, the basis for Calp. 1, 36 f.:

Vos O praecipue nemorum gaudete coloni,
Vos populi gaudete mei.

He continues (42) with

Aurea secura cum pace renascitur aetas,

giving the theme of Vergil in *Eclogue* 4, but expressed with an eye to the *Aetna* (9):

Aurea securi quis nescit saecula regis?

Contexere carmen (Calp. 10, 9) was apparently suggested by *Ciris* 9 *detexere munus*, as also *calamos intexere cera* (Calp. 3, 26) by *intexere chartis* (*Ciris* 39). The unusual *internodia*, too long and too learned for the user, came from the *Ciris* 491.

The author of the *ad Pisonem* alludes to the connection of Vergil with Maecenas (218 ff.) and, referring to *Piso eximiumque tuae decus* (200), adapts a statement of Vergil (*Georg.* 2, 40 f.):

O decus, O famae merito pars maxima nostrae | Maecenas.

His line beginning *Felix* (13) is based on *Georg.* 2, 40 beginning in the same way. The words amor . . . habendi (C. 84; *Aen.* 8, 327) become habendi saeva libido (Piso 208), orbibus (Piso 169: *Aen.* 5, 584) is repeated, while secessu longo (*Aen.* 1, 159) appears reversed and with one letter changed, longo . . . recessu (Piso 186). There are a few touches resembling the *Culex*: The author addresses Piso . . . venerande (117) as C. 25 Octavi venerande; Phoebo . . . magistro (Piso 156) is like Phoebo duce (C. 36), and Pierii laticis decus (C. 18) seems to have suggested Pierii tutela Chori (Piso 232), as convicia soli (*id.* 258) may have come from C. 209. c. mortis. The words felix illa dies (*id.* 147) were taken from the *Ciris* (27) or the *Aetna* (635). The author refers to his youthfulness, primos . . . annos (251), as does the author of the *Ciris* (45) iuvenes . . . annos.

The remark assigned to Lucan:

"Aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio comparans ausus sit dicere

'Et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem,' "

has its significance in showing that the writer (Donatus) believed that, in the early years of Lucan, there was extant a *Culex* which was ascribed to Vergil. The parallels already given indicate the same belief on the part of Roman poets, and it is the natural assumption that they knew of the historical fact of which we have a later record.

It is noted that Vergil does not use the plural forms *neces* (C. 310) and *Panes* (C. 94; 115). Ovid does not have the first, although he has nearly three score instances of the singular. He has *Panes* in *Ep.* 4, 171; and *Fasti* 1, 397 associated with *Satyri*, and in *Met.* 14, 637 ff. *Satyri* . . . *Panes* | *Silvanusque*. The *Culex* reads:

Hic etiam viridi ludentes Panes in herba,
Et Satyri Dryadesque chorus egere puellae.

Ovid has *Dryades* six times in *Met.* and also in *Fasti* 4, 761, but not associated with *puellae*, as in *Ecl.* 5, 59, and *Georg.* 1, 11. It is possible that Lucan 3, 402 f. *Panes memorumque potentes* | *Silvani Nymphaeque tenent*, may have been written with the *Culex* passage in mind.

There are some portions of the work of Manilius which seem to have been written with an eye to the *Culex*. This does not refer so much to individual words as to the introductory and historical material, and other portions of considerable length. The *Culex* begins with

Lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia,

and has in 25 f. meis adlabere coeptis | Sancte puer, and in 12:

Phoebus erit nostri princeps et carminis auctor.

Of the same import is 35 f.:

Mollia sed tenui decurrere carmina versu
Viribus acta suis Phoebo duce ludere gaudent.

Compare with these the following from Manilius: 1, 19 in numerum Phoebo modulante referre; 1, 30:

Tu princeps auctorque sacri, Cyllenie, tanti:

and 3, 36:

Huc ades, O quicumque meis advertere coeptis
Aurem oculosque potes, veras et percipe voces.

The last clause is an adaptation of *Aen.* 1, 409 *veras . . . reddere voces*, and the generalized statement with *quicumque* may well be taken as a like utilization of what was considered Vergilian material. The characterization *mollia . . . carmina* may also have been in the mind of Manilius when he wrote in 3, 38 *nec dulcia carmina quaeras*, with the same noun and adjective as in C. 148. He also expresses a similar negative limitation in 2, 51:

Et iam confusi manant de fontibus amnes,

which is the reverse of C. 78:

Semper opaca novis manantia fontibus antra.

The indicated purpose of the author in C. 4 f.:

Omnis ut historiae per ludum consonet ordo | Notitiae,

is given as a result in M. 2, 522 *sic veri per totum consonat ordo*. The verb is used with a negative in 3, 207 *nec consonat ordo*, and occurs also in 2, 281; 3, 110.

After the introduction, the *Culex* (26-34) announces its negative limitations beginning with *namque canit non pagina bellum | Triste Iovis*, mentioning the war with the giants, the Lapithae, the movements of Xerxes, and closing with an adaptation of a line in Lucretius. There is a longer passage of similar mold in Manilius (3, 5-26). It begins with a negative as does the passage in the *Culex*:

Non ego in excidium caeli nascentia bella
Fulminis et flammis, partus in matre sepultos,

mentions the Persian wars, and has a reference to Medea and the sons of Oedipus, as has the *Culex* in 249 and 254.

The historical section in Manilius (1, 762-804) is introduced by

An fortes animae dignataque numina caelo
Corporibus resoluta suis, terraeque remissa
Huc migrant ex orbe, suumque habitantia caelum
Aetherios vivunt annos mundoque fruuntur?

Like the *Culex* section (295-371) it presents both Grecian and Roman heroes. The beginning in the two works is the same: C. *hic et uterque Aeacidas*; M. *atque hic Aeacidas*. Both name Hector and Ulysses, but Manilius gives in six words, *terraeque marisque triumphis | Naturae victorem Ithacum*, what in the *Culex* is extended to seven lines. After a transition three lines in length, the *Culex* mentions the Fabii, Decii, Horatia, *virtus*, Camillus, Curtius, Mucius, Curius and Scipiadusque *duces*, closing with a reference to Carthage. Manilius has Horatia *proles*, Scaevola, Camillus, Deci, Fabius and Scipiadus *duces*. The words *Fabricius Curiusque pares* are of the same import as *Curius clarae socius virtutis . . . Fabricius* in the *Culex*.

We accept the reading *Fabricius* (370) instead of that of Ellis:

*Flamminius devota dedit qui corpora flammis.

This cannot be interpreted as meaning that Flaminius caused the death of the Roman soldiers at Trasumene and their subsequent cremation, for Livy (22, 7, 5) expressly states that Hannibal buried the bodies of his own dead, implying that nothing was done with the Roman dead. The stereotyped association by Horace (*Odes* 1, 12, 40 f.) Valerius Maximus (4, 3, 5-6; and in the plural (4, 4, 11; Lucan 10, 152), Martial (11, 16, 7) Curio Fabricioque, as also the words of Valerius paria robora virtutis are in favor of the reading *Fabricius*. In the fight at Thurium, the Romans led by Mars slew 20,000 of the enemy:

Itaque Fabricii edicto supplicatio Marti est habita et a laureatis militibus magna cum animorum laetitia oblatis auxilii testimonium ei redditum est.

We do not have the account of the battle by Livy, but we may assume that the one by Vergil (*Aen.* 11, 82 ff.; 207 ff.) of the burning of the arms and bodies of the slain was based on some such historical event, although Vergil uses *coniciunt* (*id.* 6, 222; 11, 194). Silius Italicus (10, 551 ff.) gives at length an account of the burning of arms to Mars, and of the bodies also.

The reference to Carthage, in Manilius fatum Carthaginis unum, following Scipiades duces, is short compared with

... quorum devota triumphis
Moenia sub lappis Libycae Carthaginis horrent.

However, it is not impossible that M. 4, 48:

Eque crepidinibus cepit Carthaginis orbem,

may be based on the uncertain reading in the *Culex* line. One line in the *Culex* passage (357):

Omnis in aequoreo fluitat iam naufraga fluctu,

is parallel to M. 5, 51:

Punica nec toto fluitabat aequore rostra.

The snake episode in the *Culex* (163 ff.) is a necessary part of the narrative, but not in M. 3, 305 ff.:

Quin etiam ille pater tali de sidere cretus
Esse potest, qui serpentem super ora cubantem,
Infelix, nati somnumque animamque bibentem
Sustinuit misso petere ac prosternere telo.
Ars erat esse patrem; vicit natura periculum,
Et pariter iuvenem somnoque ac morte levavit,
Tunc iterum natum et fato per somnia raptum.

In these lines are a few words resembling some in the *Culex*: *cubantem*: *recubare* (C. 175); *bibentem*: *tenentem* (C. 189); *sustinuit*: *valuit* (C. 194). The words of M. vicit natura periculum may be intended as a contrast with C. 193 f.:

Qui casus sociarit opem numenve deorum
Prodere sit dubium.

The worst line in the *Culex* (179):

Ardet mente, furit stridoribus, insonat ore,

has its parallel in M. 5, 224:

 Corda micant, et lingua rabit, latratque loquendo,

while the unusual *torquibus* in M. 5, 585:

 Hinc vasti turgent immensis torquibus orbes,

may have come from adapting C. 167 *torquebat motibus orbis*; cf. 180. Equally curious is the simile in M. 5, 137:

 His tamen ingenita est visendi ignota cupido,
 Ut nova per montes quaerunt arbusta capellae,
 Semper et ulterius pascentes tendere gaudent.

This summarizes C. 48-57, and has *arbusta*, while C. has both *arbuta* and *labrusca*, *quaerunt* for *petuntur*, and gives the force of *tondebant* with *tendere gaudent*.

The flower section in the *Culex* (398-410) has *consero*, as has the similar section in M. 5, 254-263, and both mention violets, hyacinths and lilies. These are conventional, but there are two similar touches of some moment. C. (410) has *vernantia . . . tempora*, and M. the participle also; cf. Columella 10, 270 *vernantia lilia*. The second point is that an entire line is given to the rose in C. 399:

 Et rosa purpureum crescens pudibunda per orbem,

where the correct reading may be *rubicunda*, as in M. 5, 259:

 Vernantisque rosae rubicundo sanguine florem,

in which the adjective, participle and *florem* indicate adaptation from the *Culex*. For the similar use of single words compare C. 338:

 Hellespontiacis obiturus reddidit undis,

and M. 4, 620:

 Hellespontiacis revocatus fluctibus effert.

On the basis of these parallels, which are almost as noticeable as those between the *Aetna* and Manilius, it might be maintained either that Manilius made a free use of the *Culex*, or that the author of the latter work used Manilius. However, there are some passages which seem to indicate that it was Manilius who adapted from the *Culex*. Similar statements are found as follows:

 Lucr. 3, 1047: *Scipiades, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror*;
 Culex 370 f: *Scipiadesque duces . . . Carthaginis horrent*;
 Manilius 1, 792: *Scipiades duces, fatum Carthaginis unum*.

Manilius and the *Culex* have the same beginning, and both adapt the latter part of the line of Lucretius, the latter changing noun to verb, the former *fulmen* to *fatum* with *Carthaginis* instead of *belli*. The more artistic handling by Manilius can properly be held to be later than the simple transfer by the author of the *Culex* who, as we can fairly infer, would have adapted the words of Manilius had they been before him.

Another illustration of the use of the same material is in

Lucr. 5, 155: Quae tibi posterius largo sermone probabo;
Culex 8: Posterius graviore sono tibi Musa loquetur . . . cum.
 Manilius 2, 750: Verum haec posterius proprio cuncta ordine reddam:
 Manilius 3, 156 f: Quarum ego posterius vires in utrumque valentes
 Ordine sub certo reddam, . . . cum pandere earum
 Incipiam effectus.

The use of *posterius*, *tibi*, and the ablatives each beginning with the letter *s* show that the words of Lucretius were utilized in the *Culex*, while Manilius varies by using *ordine*, but agrees with the *Culex* in dating his effort by means of a *cum*-clause. The introductory material in these works is also noticeable, a part of which we have already quoted. Lucretius has avia Pieridum loca peragro (4, 1); in numerum pulsarent (2, 637); liquido pede (5, 273; 6, 639); and in 1, 945:

Carmine Pierio rationem exponere nostram.

Pierius is used in *Culex* 18:

Quare Pierii laticis decus, ite, sorores|Naides,

which is similar to *Aetna* 7 f. Other pertinent statements are in *Culex* 12; 36; 1; and 17 sonans liquido pede. Manilius drew 1, 40 from C. 12, and in 1, 19 in numerum Phoebō modulante referre from Lucretius and C. 1. He also has in 2, 49, re-expressing the thought of Vergil (*Georg.* 3, 1 ff.):

Omne genus rerum doctae cecinere sorores.

This is similar to C. 18, but the use of the perfect *cecinerē* is noticeable as an indication of work already completed. Manilius has in 2, 50:

Omnis ad accessus Heliconis semita trita est,

and claims originality for his work in 1, 113:

Hoc mihi surgit opus non ullis ante sacratum|Carminibus,

as in 2, 58 nulli vatū debēbimus ora | Nec furtum, sed opus veniet. Yet he mentions the Persian wars in a historical section (3, 5-26) after which the declaration of the *Culex* (31) would not have been in order:

Non perfossus Athos nec magno vincula ponto
 Iacta meo quaerent iam sera volumine famam,

for *sera* implies that the singing had not yet been done.

There are three pieces of biographical information: *Culex* 361-371; Propertius 4, 11, 61-70; and Manilius 1, 762-805. Propertius differs from the other two in not mentioning the Greeks. The account of these begins the same way in the *Culex* and Manilius, and there are similar touches in what is said of the Romans. But as is shown by 758-761 the evident design was to illustrate the statement of Cicero *Somm. Scip.* 8, 18 bene meritis de patria quasi limes ad caeli aditum patet.

The accounts in the two works are parallel up to a certain point, the *Culex* stopping with Ulysses for the Greeks, and the Scipios for

the Romans. However, Manilius continues the list of the Greeks with Alexander, Solon, Lycurgus, Plato

et qui fabricaverat illum
Damnatusque suas melius damnavit Athenas.

The list of Romans is continued, naming among others Pompey, Tullius, Cato, and ending with Augustus. These additions could not have been drawn from the *Culex*, so that at this point it could not have been a source for Manilius. It is a fair interpretation that they represent the effort of Manilius to bring down the list to his own times. So strong is this consideration that we take it as a settlement of the question of the temporal relation of the two.

The *Culex* (370 closes its list of ancient worthies with the Scipiaes, as does Lucretius (3, 1034); and Vergil in the *Georgics* (2, 170). But we find in the *Aeneid* (6, 841):

Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum, aut te, Cosse, relinquat?
Quis Gracchi genus, aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
Scipiadæ, cladem Libyæ,

and in 8, 670:

Secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem.

The *Culex* has (39) et tibi sede pia maneat locus, and (375) the same location for Minos. These historical data in the poem limited by the previous work of Lucretius, and not of Vergil, indicate for the composition a date earlier than the presentation by Vergil.

Germanicus begins his *Aratea*:

Ab Iove principium magno deduxit Aratus
Carminis; at nobis, genitor, tu maximus auctor.

The first is an adaptation of the opening of the *Aratea* of Cicero, while carminis auctor is in C. 12. It also has divortia lucis (8) and d. mundi (251) similar to d. belli (C. 304). Immanis serpens (C. 164: G. 49) is in both, and seu decus Astraei fueris (G. 107) and seu decus Asteriae (C. 15) are akin. The rhetorical repetition of Amnem | Amnem (G. 361) and desecat . . . Desecat (G. 583) resemble half a score of passages in the *Culex*.

The statement (C. 105) ima . . . repetebant ad vada, seems to have been worked over by Gratius (*Cyn.* 245) repetens prima ad vestigia.

The *Eulogy* on Messalla (Tibullus 4, 1) has at the beginning quam me cognita virtus | Terret . . . Incipiam tamen, an adaptation of *Aen.* 2, 12 quamquam animus horret . . . incipiam. The conclusion (205 ff.) is based on Horace *Odes* 2, 20, 1 f., while quodcumque tuum (197) is varied from *Odes* 4, 3, 21, and mutata figura is from *Odes* 1, 2, 41. These references are enough to indicate the imitative character of the work, and suggest the possibility that the picture in 183 ff. beginning

Nam mihi, cum magnis opibus domus alta niteret,

may have been drawn as a contrast to that in the *Culex* 58 ff. containing Attalicis opibus . . . nitor auri. The wish (16 f.):

Hic quoque sit gratus parvus labor, ut tibi possim
Inde alios aliosque memor componere versus,

may have been suggested by C. 8:

Ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu.

It may be mentioned in passing that two lines (*Ciris* 100: E. 34) seem mutually related to each other:

Atque novum aeterno praetextite honore volumen:

Aeterno sed erunt tibi magna volumina versu.

The borrowing tendencies of Lygdamus (Tibullus 3, 1-6) are shown by such lines as 4, 96:

Et iubeat tepidos irrita ferre Notos,

suggested by Catullus (64, 142); the fling in 4, 62 mens est mutabilis illis, from the *Aeneid*; and the final command (6, 62):

Tu puer, i, liquidum fortius adde merum,

written with an eye to Horace *Odes* 3, 14, 71, pete unguentum, puer. These poems also have a few touches possibly derived from the *Culex*. We find in 4, 89:

Scyllaque virgineam canibus succincta figuram,

which is practically the same as *Ciris* 89, and *Culex* 331:

Illum Scylla rapax canibus succincta Molossis.

This is improved *Ecl.* 6, 75:

Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus,

by the substitution of latrantibus . . . monstribus for canibus . . . Molossis. Compare also Phoebus prospexit ab Oeta (L. 4, 21) with procedit Vesper ab Oeta (C. 203), deserit Hesperus Oetam (*Ecl.* 8, 30), and Seneca (*H. F.* 150) Titan summa prospexit Oeta. Etruscis manat quae fontibus unda (L. 5, 1) is parallel to gelidis manans e fontibus unda (C. 148), and akin to opaca novis manantia fontibus antra (*id.* 78). The *Pierides* are mentioned (*Ciris* 94: L. 1, 5) with a variation in C. 17 ff.:

Cataliaeque sonans liquido pede labitur unda.

Quare Pierii laticis decus, ite, sorores

Naides et celebrate deum plaudente chorea,

liquido pede and plaudente chorea being taken from Lucretius. Lygdamus has (1, 15 ff.):

Per vos, auctores huius mihi carminis, oro

Castaliamque umbram Pieriosque lacus,

Ite domum cultumque illi donate libellum,

with the imperative *ite* and both *Castalia* and *Pierius* concentrated in one line. Compare also Cimmeriosque lacus (L. 5, 24) with Cimmerios . . . lucos (C. 232). The section (3, 13 ff.) beginning:

Quidve domus prodest Phrygiis innixa columnis,

not only develops the line of thought in C. 58 ff., but in addition Sidonio murice lana is like Assyrio . . . lauta colore, *concha* has a similar setting, and *mentes* and *opibus* a like association.

The poems of Propertius have strains from many an earlier writer, as *requiescere lecto* (1, 36, 33): *acquiescimus lecto* (Catullus 31, 10); 3, 20, 15 f.:

Teritur rubigine mucro
Ferreus et parvo saepe liquore silex;

from Lucr. 1, 314:

Ferreus occulte descrecit vomer in arvis
Strataque iam volgi pedibus detrita viarum.

The political opinion expressed in 4, 12, 60:

Frangitur ipsa suis Roma superba bonis,

was suggested by Livy *Praef.* 4 *ut iam magnitudine laboret sua*; while 5, 9, 12:

Aversos cauda traxit in antra boves,

is in the words of Livy 1, 7, 5 with *antra* for *spelunca*, which is also in *Aen.* 8, 210. The beginning of 4, 8 is based on the first ode of Horace, and 3, 19, 1 *hoc erat in primis*, and 3, 28, 14 *propositum, vita, teramus iter* were written with an eye to *Satire* 2, 6: 1 *hoc erat in votis*; and 99 *propositum peragunt iter.* 4, 10, 35 ff. with *canopia* (45) develops the same theme as does Horace in *Epode* 9 with *canopium* in verse 16.

He proclaims that his themes are not mythological, and sets forth his own philosophy (2, 1, 46):

Qua pote quisque, in ea conterat arte diem.

Here he adapts from Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 1, 18, 41) the translation of a line from Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 1431):

Quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat.

In 5, 6, 13-68 he praises Caesar, following with the words (69):

Bella satis cecini: citharam iam poscit Apollo.

A kindred thought is given in 4, 2, 18:

Mollia sunt parvis prata terenda rotis,

preceded by a passage introduced by *cecini*, and of all the similar passages this is the most important taken in connection with 4, 11, 61 ff.

These important passages will be quoted entire (C. 361-371: P. 4, 2, 7-11; 4, 11, 61-64 and 67):

1. Hic Fabii Decique; hic est et Horatia virtus,
2. Hic et fama vetus numquam moritura Camilli.
3. Curtius et mediis quem quondam sedibus urbis
4. Devotum bellis consumpsit gurgis in unda.
5. Mucius et prudens ardorem corpora passus,
6. Cui cessit Lydi tumefacta potentia regis.
7. Hic Curius clarae socius virtutis et ille
8. Fabricius devota dedit qui corpore flammae.
9. Iure igitur talis, sedes pietatis, honores,
10. Scipiadisque duces, quorum devota triumphis
11. Moenia sub lappis Libycae Carthaginis horrent.

.

- a. Et cecini Curios fratres et Horatia pila,
- b. Regiaque Aemilia vecta tropaea rate,
- c. Victricesque moras Fabii pugnam sinistram
- d. Cannensem et versos ad pia vota deos,
- e. Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantes.

- f. Curtius expletis statuit monumenta lacunis,
- g. At Decius misso proelio rupit equo,
- h. Coclitis abscissos testatur semita pontes,
- i. Est cui cognomen corvus habere dedit.

- j. Nunc ubi Scipiadae classes, ubi signa Camilli?

The plurals in l. are in the singular in c. and g., and the close of 1. is varied at the end of a., and is expanded in h. *Camilli* ends 2. and j. 3. and 4. are condensed to f. *Curius* in 7. is plural in a. The beginning of 10. is varied in j. 6. and i. have *cui* at the beginning. 5. and 8. have no place in Propertius, nor Cannae, Hannibal and Corvinus in the *Culex*. After praising Augustus (5, 6, 13-68) Propertius declares *bella satis cecini*, and he was doing this (see a. above) when Phoebus warned him to desist. Was he merely adapting the *Culex* passage? This has *Fabii Decii*que . . . *Camilli* which may be compared with *Aen.* 6, 824 f. *Decios Drusosque* . . . *Camillum*, and the earlier grouping (*Georg.* 2, 169 f.) *Deciosque, Mariosque, magnosque Camillos, Scipiades, duros belli*; cf. *Scipiades, cladem Libyae* (*Aen.* 6, 844). Propertius (5, 1, 45) has *Deci Brutique secures*. *Decius* is the fixed term combined with a different name in each of these works, but the association with *Camillus* is the same for the *Culex* and the works of Vergil. It should be noted that Vergil with *Marios*, and Propertius (4, 10, 69), bringing his narrative down to the battle of Actium, give historical data much nearer to their own times. This means that these later ones were additions to the galaxy of heroes, and were added after the list in the *Culex* was made up (359):

*Heroes mediisque siti sunt sedibus omnes,
Omnes Roma decus magni quos suspicit orbis.*

The utilization of material in the mass is not unpracticed in the method of Propertius, as is shown by his use of *Georg.* 2, 136 ff. Vergil in singing the praises of Italy uses six negatives, and then passes to the affirmative characteristics. Propertius (4, 22, 17 ff.) develops the same theme, balancing ten affirmative with ten negative points, and instead of *hydri* and the reference to Jason has *cerastae* and *portentis* . . . *novis*. Propertius (2, 1, 19-24) writes of things of which he does not intend to write, including

Xerxis et imperio bina coisse vada,

following this with *Phlegraeos* . . . *tumultus* and *duro* . . . *versu*.

The *Culex* (26-36) after mentioning *Phlegra* has the following:

*Non perfossus Athos nec magno vincula ponto
Iacta meo quaerent iam sera volumine famam,
Non Hellespontus pedibus pulsatus equorum,
Graecia cum timuit venientis undique Persas
Mollia sed tenui decurrere carmina versu
Viribus acta suis Phoebos duce ludere gaudent.*

The close of the fourth line is an adaptation from Lucretius, and the first lines are out of place if the subject had been previously developed. The reference in Propertius (4, 6, 39 ff.):

Saxa triumphales fregere Capherea puppes,
Naufraga cum vasto Graecia tracta salost,

to the shipwreck of the Greeks in the return from Troy resembles C. 356:

Omnis in aequoreo fluitat iam naufraga fluctu,

and in 353 f. saxa Capherei | Euboicas et per cautes. Propertius refers to the latter part of this in 3, 22, 38, and 5, 1, 114 Euboicos . . . sinus. Vergil has the same contrasts, but in slightly different form in *Aen.* 11, 260 Euboicae cautes ultor Caphereus. The *Culex* (327 ff.) continues with an account of Ulysses, closing with

Pallentesque lacus et squalida Tartara terrent.

Propertius gives different details, and continues the story to the return of Ulysses, and also has

Nigrantesque domos animarum intrasse silentum.

Propertius (3, 19, 27 f.) characterizes Theseus and Demophoon as hospes uterque malus, while the *Culex* has (131) Demophoon . . . perfide multis, perfide Demophoon. Both mention Ityn (C. 252: P. 4, 9, 10). The *Culex* (61) has *Attalicis* a word which Propertius uses five times. Notice the resemblance of P. 4, 12, 5:

Et venit e rubro concha Erycina salo,

and C. 67 f. nec Indi | Conchea bacca maris pretio est.

Vergil has fortunatos, si (*Georg.* 2, 458) which is adapted in Propertius (4, 1, 55):

Fortunata, meo siqua es celebrata libello.

The preceding lines setting forth his material humility and poetical exaltation is in the spirit of the *Culex* passage (60 ff.) beginning O bona pastoris. We find in P. 1, 20, 45 f. Dryades . . . puellae . . . destituere choros, which is the reverse of C. 116:

Et Satyri Dryadesque choros egere puellae.

The passage has *Panes* and *Naiadum*, while Vergil has *Pana* (*Ecl.* 5, 59) and *Fauni* (*Georg.* 1, 11) as the associated terms. The *Culex* (5) introduces *invidus*, while Propertius (4, 1, 21) has invida turba. The latter (5, 3, 58) has

Et crepat ad veteres herba Sabina focos,

a practice suggested for the days of yore in C. 404:

Herbaque turis opes priscis imitata Sabina.

There are some terms not freely used in Latin poetry that are common to the *Culex* and Propertius. The former (265) associates Alcestis and Ithaci coniunx semper decus, Icarotis, with *Admeti* in the preceding line. Propertius has *Icarioti* (4, 12, 10) and (2, 5, 23):

Felix Admeti coniunx et lectus Ulixis.

Both works have *Argo* (C. 137: P. 4, 22, 13), and alter in alterius (C. 235: P. 1, 5, 30). The *Culex* describes Tantalus (242) arenti revolutus in omnia sensu, which is improved by Propertius (3, 9, 6):

Ut liquor arenti fallat ab ore sitim.

If it had been so applied, there would not have been a better characterization of the *Culex* than the line in Propertius (2, 1, 16):

Maxima de nihilo nascitur historia.

He also has hactenus historiae (5, 1, 119) and argutae . . . historiae (4, 20, 28). These fix for Propertius the same jesting use of *historia* as in the *Culex* 4. The question in Propertius quis te | Carminis tangere iussit opus? may possibly be a reference to the *Culex*, and with a tinge of irony. Propertius (3, 32 (34), 75 ff.) has the words:

Quamvis ille sua lassus requiescat avena,
Laudatur faciles inter Hamadryadas.
Tu canis Ascraei veteris praecepta poetae.

With this we may compare C. 94 ff.:

O pecudes, O Panes, et O gratissima tempe
Fontis Hamadryadum, quarum non divite cultu
Aemulus Ascraeo pastori quisque poeta
Securam placido traducit pectore vitam.

Vergil has *Hamadryades* only in *Ecl.* 10, 62:

Iam neque Hamadryades rursus neque carmina nobis | Ipsa placent,

as if he were bidding the *Culex* farewell. He refers to the other type of poetry (*Georg.* 2, 176):

Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

The *Culex*, Vergil and Propertius refer to Hesiod; the *Culex* invokes the *Hamadryades*, and the *Eclogues* bid them farewell. Propertius praises Vergil's work among them, and it is only in the *Culex* that the word is found in all the works of Vergil.

There is but little in Tibullus which resembles the *Culex*. The latter has (17) the implied personification liquido pede labitur unda, similar to Tibullus (1, 8, 47) aetas . . . non tardo labitur illa pede, and the image (C. 202) iam quatit . . . equos nox is like iam nox iungit equos (T. 2, 1, 87). The generalized statement (T. 1, 13):

Et quodcumque mihi donum novus educat annus,

begins as does C. 410:

Et quoscumque novant vernantia tempora flores,

and the adjective *novus* and verb *novant* are akin. Phonetically considered (T. 1, 4, 12):

Hic placidam niveo pectore pellit aquam,

may be adapted from C. 97:

Securam placido traducit pectore vitam.

Vergil (*Ecl.* 4; *Georg.* 1, 121 ff.) gives the conditions under Saturn and under Jove, as does Tibullus (1, 3, 35 ff. and 49 f.) who, in the

same elegy (69 ff.), associates Tisiphone and Cerberus, as does the *Culex* (218 ff.). The list of unworthies which follows in Tibullus—Ixion . . . Tityos . . . Tantalus . . . Danai proles, differs in one respect from that in the *Culex* (237 ff.) Tityos . . . Tantalus . . . Sisypheus . . . puellae, which is derived from Lucretius 3, 981 ff.

In the absence of other data the question of the utilization of *Culex* material by Horace or *vice versa* must be held in even balance. The picture in the *Culex* (157 ff.) beginning

Pastor, ut ad fontem densa requievit in umbra,

in the following lines contains proiectus membra and stratus humi. The preceding lines mention the trees, the birds, frogs, *cicadae*, and *capellae*. The source of the picture is Lucretius (2, 24 ff.) who gives the location, propter aquae rivum (30), as in C. 390; Vergil *Ecl.* 8, 86; *Georg.* 3, 14; cf. Horace *Epp.* 1, 14, 55 prope rivum somnus in herba. Lucretius gives the personal attitude, prostrati in gramine molli, C. 69 tenero prosternit gramine corpus, having the same verb: cf. 158; *Georg.* 2, 527 fususque per herbam, and Horace (*Odes* 1, 1, 21) membra . . . stratus. The water and the shade are also emphasized (*Odes* 2, 3, 9 ff.), but the birds are an added element common to the *Culex* and Horace.

The *Culex* begins its picture of a happy life (79 ff.):

Quis magis optato queat esse beator aevo,
Quam qui mente procul pura, sensuque probando
Non avidas agnovit opes nec tristia bella,
Nec funesta timet validae certamina classis.

The last lines reflect the thought of Lucretius (2, 1, ff.), with an adaptation of belli certamina and mente fruatur | Iucundo sensu; see also videas classem (*id.* 46). The setting is the writer's present, differing from Horace (*Ep.* 2, 1 f.):

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis
Ut prisca gens mortalium.

However, Horace has *qui procul* as does the *Culex*, and sums up the details of the latter in one word *negotiis*. Among the elements of happiness the *Culex* puts nec evectus finem transcendat habendi (84) against which Horace issues a warning denique sit finis quaerendi (*Sat.* 1, 1, 92). Pectore puro (C. 67) is also found in Lucretius (5, 18) and Horace (*Epp.* 1, 2, 67). The words laurus Phoebi surgens decus (C. 402) are appropriate, but more so is Horace *Odes* 1, 32, 13:

O decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
Grata testudo Iovis.

We find in C. 146 ff. volucres . . . edunt, unda sonat, and geminas avium vox obstrepat auris. There is a noticeable transfer in Horace (*Ep.* 2, 25):

Labuntur altis interim ripis aquae,
Quaerunt in silvis avis,
Fontes lymphis obstrepunt manantibus.

The last verb is with *fontes* instead of vox avium, and the order of the

elements is water, birds, water instead of birds, water, birds, Horace giving in three lines what the *Culex* has in six. After the admirable form in the *Culex*, Vergil limited himself to *concentus avium* (*Georg.* 1, 422), and (*id.* 2, 328):

Avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris.

There are some other touches either expressed in the same way or with slight variations: *Ambustus Phaethon* (*C.* 128: *Odes* 4, 11, 25); *non exorabile* (*C.* 288: *Epp.* 2, 2, 179); *Attalici opibus* (*C.* 63); *Attalici condicionibus* (*Odes* 1, 1, 12); *distincta coloribus* (*C.* 71); *distinguet . . . purpureo colore* (*Odes* 2, 5, 11 f.); *densentur . . . poenae* (*C.* 233): *densentur funera* (*Odes* 1, 28, 19); and *audax ille quidem qui* (*C.* 270) which is varied in *Odes* 1, 3, 9, and is more closely followed by Seneca (*Medea* 301). Adaptation is clearly evident, and to us at some points Horace seems to show the finer touch, as in the use of *condicionibus* for which we should not expect an imitator to substitute the common *opibus*. However this maybe, the interpretation that Horace toned up the immature work of his friend is as tenable as that an imitator toned down the work of Horace.

Between Vergil and Horace there was a friendly rivalry. The latter gives an example of a perfect metrical group (*Sat.* 1, 4, 60 f.):

. . . postquam discordia taetra
Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit,

and Vergil, as if he had accepted the quotation as a challenge to his own metrical skill, gives the following adaptation (*Aen.* 7, 621 f.):

. . . et cardine verso
Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postes.

This verse is of even greater flexibility in prose, as it does not have anything linked, as are *postis portasque*. In the concurrent portions of their literary work it is impossible to decide which used any particular expression first. But the characterization of Plotius, Varius and Vergil (*Sat.* 1, 5, 41 f.):

. . . animae qualis neque candidiores
Terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter,

indicates that, in the mind of Horace, Vergil was the embodiment of personal and poetic purity.

The occurrence in the earlier works of Horace of some of the non-Vergilian words in the *Culex* at least suggests that, although suited to the sphere of Horace, they were not to that of Vergil. Notice the connotation of the italicised words in the following: *pueris convicia nautae* | *Ingerere* (*Sat.* 1, 5, 11); *amaras . . . historias* *captivus ut audit* (*id.* 1, 3, 88); *mollis inertia* (*Ep.* 14, 1); *Epp.* 1, 1, 38:

Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator;

cum magno risuque iocoque (*Sat.* 1, 8, 50). *Risus* is non-Vergilian with the exception of *Ecl.* 4, 60; and *Georg.* 2, 386 *risuque soluto*, as is *iocus* whose common tone is indicated by the fact that Ovid uses it but once in the *Metamorphoses* (3, 320). Other illustrations are:

Amantem et languor et silentium | Arguit (*Ep.* 11, 9); reliquit ossa pelle amictu *lurida* (*Ep.* 17, 22); fluitem dubiae spe *pendulus* horae (*Epp.* 1, 18, 110); cum fixae cibo | Intabuissent *pupulae* (*Ep.* 5, 39 f.); *senile* guttur (*Ep.* 3, 2); pingui *tentus* omaso (*Sat.* 2, 5, 40); scribet mala carmina *vecors* (*id.* 2, 5, 74); *truculentior* atque | Plus aequo liber (*id.* 1, 3, 51). The non-epic associations in the *Odes* are worthy of note: urit me *Glyceræ nitor* (1, 19, 5); *viduus* pharetra | Risit Apollo (1, 10, 12); *leniter* atterens | Caudam (2, 19, 30 f.). Horace's use of the earliest of these, possibly of the latest, was known to Vergil, and he left them in their sphere. How unepic the last three especially would have been!

In the absence of direct testimony there cannot be an exact determination of the inter-relation of the *Culex* and the works of Ovid, who was the greatest of borrowers among the authors of Rome, and at every point his parallelism to the *Culex* can be interpreted on this basis.

We shall make a comparison at some length of two passages in their relation to the *Culex*. One of these is early, *Rem. Am.* 181 f.:

Pastor inaequali modulatur harundine carmen,
Nec desunt comites, sedula turba, canes;

The other is late, *Ex Ponto* 1, 8, 51 f.:

Ipse ego pendentes, liceat modo, rupe capellas,
Ipse velim baculo pascere nixus oves.

These lines present the whole problem so far as it refers to Ovid, for the second line in each is either a reminiscence of a line in an earlier work of his own, or the adaptation of the words of a *Culex* not by himself. Taken by themselves they might seem reminiscences; taken in connection with their environment they seem to indicate adaptation of the work of another. The first line of the first quotation differs but slightly from C. 100:

Compacta solidum modulatur harundine carmen,

the last three words being the same, with *pastor . . . non arte canore* in the previous line of the *Culex*. Lucretius has in 4, 589

Fistula silvestrem ne cesset fundere musam.

This furnished two words for one line of Vergil, and was also adapted in another (*Ecl.* 1, 2):

Silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena.

and (*id.* 6, 8):

Agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.

These two lines are cast in similar molds, and with the arrangement adj. adj. noun noun, as in the *Culex*, while Ovid lacks this adjectival balance. The *Culex* line with one change is used in *Met.* 11, 154:

Et leve cerata modulatur harundine carmen.

Compacta is also used by Ovid (*Met.* 13, 784):

Sumptaque harundinibus compacta est fistula centum,

but this is merely an exaggeration of *Ecl.* 2, 36):

Est mihi disparibus septem compacta cicutis
Fistula.

Notice the combinations in Martial (14, 64):

Quid me compactam ceris et harundine rides?
Quae primum structa est fistula talis erat.

The first lines quoted from Ovid are part of a passage presenting the benefits of country life, the material for which was gathered from other writers, multo foenere reddat ager from Cicero, queritur vitulum mater from Lucretius, with a free use of the second *Epode* of Horace. In one other respect the lines are noticeable, for they posit a situation different from that in the *Culex*. If this situation had been realized, the dogs and not the gnat would have warned the shepherd, and there would not have been a *Culex*.

The first line of the second quotation is slightly varied from *Ecl.* 1, 76:

Dumosa pendere procul de rupe videbo,

which has *capellae* preceding and following.

The second line stands in about the same relation to C. 98:

Talibus in studiis baculo dum nixus apricas
Pastor agit curas.

In other words, three lines of the *Culex* appear in widely separated parts of the works of Ovid, each in a passage containing adaptations of the words of others. This fact taken in connection with the fact that the first line in each was written with an eye to the words of Vergil gives color to the claim that in the second line Ovid was using Vergilian (*Culex*) material.

The *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* are surcharged with reminiscences of the words of both Vergil and Horace, and the second quotation is in a poem which begins and ends with an adaptation from Horace. Special reasons favor a Vergilian source for both lines. Ovid seems to have seen *capellae* through the lines of Vergil. The words gemellos . . . conixa (*Ecl.* 1, 14) antedate partus enixa gemellos (*Met.* 6, 712) and prolem est enixa gemellam (*id.* 9, 453). The activities are the same or similar, *carpo* being used *Ecl.* 1, 78, and *Met.* 1, 299 and 13, 927. In the last passage the goats are *hirtae*, as in *Georg.* 3, 287, and this may have given a suggestion to Ovid. Other activities are similar:

Rem. Am. 180: Iam referent haecis ubera plena suis:'

Ecl. 4, 21: Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae.

Met. 15, 472: Ubera dent saturae manibus pressenda capellae:

Georg. 3, 310: Laeta magis pressis manabunt flumina mammis.

In addition to these, Vergil pictures the goats on the cliff (C. 51 *haerebant*: *Ecl.* 1, 76); Ovid shows them seeking it (*Rem. Am.* 179):

Ecce, petunt rupes praeruptaque saxa capellae.

The late *Tristia* and *Epistles Ex Ponto* have some noticeable pieces of phraseology the same as in the *Culex*. Among these are *comparo*

with the infinitive (C. 205: T. 2, 268); *lustravit corpore* (C. 324: in reverse order *Ib.* 334); *poliantur carmina* (C. 10: P. 1, 5, 61); *vindicare* (C. 276: T. 3, 8, 40; *Fasti* 6, 468); *implacabilis ira* (C. 238: P. 3, 3, 63); *lacrimante* (C. 314): *lacrimatas* (*Fasti* 1, 339); *tristes poenae* (C. 233: sing. T. 2, 494); *quantumcumque* (C. 388: T. 1, 6, 35); *respectus* (C. 269: T. 1, 3, 100; P. 4, 9, 100); *cubuere capellae* (C. 154): *canes leporesque cubuere* (*Fasti* 2, 87); *ditataque praeda* (C. 343): *ditata est spoliis* (P. 2, 7, 62). Vergil does not have this verb, although Lucretius uses it, and its presence in the *Culex* may be due to his influence. The number of these parallels can be fully explained by assuming that Ovid had with him in his exile a copy of the *Culex* along with the other works of Vergil.

Ovid places the emphasis on *capillus* (171 times) and *coma* (157) instead of *crines* (62), and if we take this fact as a test the description of the dawn (C. 42 ff.) with *crinibus et roseis* . . . Aurora would seem to be Vergilian rather than Ovidian. Ovid describes her with *capillis croceis* (*Am.* 2, 4, 43) and *udis capillis* (*Met.* 5, 440). Vergil has *roseis Aurora quadrigis* (*Aen.* 6, 536) and (*id.* 7, 25):

Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis.

Ovid uses neither *bigae* nor *quadrigae*, but has (*Am.* 1, 8, 4) *parentem | Memnonis in roseis* . . . *equis*, and the same (*Fasti* 4, 714) with *lutea mater* substituted for *parens*. Compare also *croceis invecta rotis Aurora* (*Met.* 3, 150). Ovid evidently followed Vergil in the use of *lutea*, applied to *Aurora*, and of *roseus*, applied to her conveyance, but varies from both the *Culex* and Vergil in the use of *croceus* and *capillus*. Ovid uses *obstrepo* only three times (M. 4, 392; 11, 18; *Fasti* 6, 9 f.), in the last passage with the same associations as in Horace:

. . . secretus ab omni

Voce locus, si non obstreperetur aquis.

In the enjoyment of men, *gramine* is an important element, as in the *Culex* (68):

Saepe super tenero prosternit gramine corpus | . . . cum,

a statement based on Lucr. 2, 29-33; 5, 1392-96) *cum* . . . *prostrati in gramine molli* | . . . *praesertim cum*. The *Culex* changes *in molli* to *super tenero*, with which compare Horace (*Odes* 4, 12, 9) *dicunt in tenero gramine*. However in *Ep.* 2, 24 in *tenaci gramine*, the adjective is better than either *molli* or *tenero*.

After a thorough-going examination of the language of the *Culex*, Holtschmidt² reaches the following conclusion (p. 126):

"Ergo argumentis quae attuli confisus ortum esse Culicem non multo post Ovidium mortuum paucisque annis ante Lucani adulescentiam iudico vel, ut numeros ponam, inter annos 17 et 60 p. Chr.; accuratius autem quid censeam si dicendum est: quinquagesimo fere anno editum esse puto eiusque scriptorem aequalem fuisse Claudii imperatoris." If our interpretation of the relation of the work of Manilius to the *Culex* is correct, this date must be rejected. It places the publication

² *De Culicis Carminis Sermonis et de Tempore quo scriptum sit*. Marburgi, MCMXIII.

when Lucan was eleven years of age, and unless we consider as spurious the remark assigned to him about the *Culex* his "eminentissimi praeceptores" must have known and taught to the boy that Vergil could not have written a work which was not published until 69 years after his death.

Of the adjectives or participles starred, and which do not occur in Vergil or with a different meaning, *devinctus*, *distinctus*, *excelsus*, *parilis*, *truculentus*, *vaecors* and *vagus* occur in the *Aratea*. If all the parts of speech are taken into consideration, there is one occurrence for every fifty lines. If this element occurred in the same proportion in the complete work, the *Aratea* must have formed one of the most important factors in the non-recurring vocabulary of the *Culex*. The verbs similarly classified number 22, 46 and 15.

The parallels from poets who wrote before 55 B.C., together with some occurrences from the works of Cicero written before that time, are about 60 per cent of both adjectives and verbs. About 20 per cent of the words are traced to post-Augustan poets only. The noticeably large per cent of the former class indicates that the writer drew from earlier writers, and not from the works of Vergil. The weakness of certain parts of the *Culex* is indicated by the comment "*inepte*" on *intonat* (179), *menstrua* (284) and *rorantes* (76). Imitation is seen in the use of *acerba fremunt* (325), *Aetnaeus* (332), *crudelis* (292), *duplicantibus* (204), *obiecto* (316), *Parnasia* (15), *succincta* (331), *attollit* (170), *gerit* (327), *ludere* (36), *procedit* (203), and *quatit* (219). *Adlabere coeptis* (25), applied to Octavius, is bettered by *adnue coeptis* (*Georg.* 1, 40), applied to Augustus. The latter appeal is also made to Jupiter (*Aen.* 9, 625). Especially noticeable is the comment on C. 331:

Illum Scylla rapax canibus succincta Molossis.
Scylla rapax dicit Ovidius indeque sumpsisse videtur scriptor
 Culicis: cf. epist. 12, 123 *aut nos Scylla rapax canibus misisset edendos*.

There is a closer resemblance in *Met.* 7, 64 f. cinctaque saevis | *Scylla rapax canibus*. But the source of *Scylla rapax* is Catullus (64, 156), and the *Culex* line is improved by Vergil (*Ecl.* 6, 75).

All these phases can be explained on the basis that we have work by the immature, as well as by the mature Vergil. In harmony with this interpretation is the fact that Vergil (*Georg.* 4, 562) drew *adfectat viam* from Terence (*Phormio* 964). From the same author (*Heaut.* 750) *tantum devenisse ad eum mali*, apparently came the model for C. 208 *effigies ad eum culicis devenit*. Vergil freely appropriated the words of Ennius, and the writer of the *Culex* (109) *pecudes . . . ut procul aspexit luco residere*, slightly changes the words of Ennius (*Ann.* 387) *cum procul aspiciunt hostes accedere*. Vergil occasionally reverts to Cicero, as does the *Culex* (226) in *vanas abiere vices*, following, for construction, Cicero, *In Cat.* 1, 8, 20, *abire in aliquas terras*. Also the words of Cicero (*id.* 3, 9, 21) *captus mente* are adapted in the *Culex* (191) *compos mente*. Another interesting little touch is the non-Vergilian *penetrarat in arces* (C. 42) drawn from

Catullus (11, 2 ff.) in extremos penetrabit Indos, *et al.* The latter poem also has (v. 12) ultimosque Britannos, developed into a line by Vergil (*Ecl.* 1, 66):

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

The troublesome *manet* (C. 66):

Lapidum nec fulgor in ulla cognitus utilitate manet,

has its explanation of meaning and of its association with *utilitate* in Lucr. (5, 860 f.) ex utilitate sua quae | Commendata manent.

The possibility of a double interpretation is well illustrated by C. 388:

Quantumcumque sibi vires tribuere seniles,

which in meaning is similar to Ovid *Tristia* 1, 6, 35:

Quantumcumque tamen praeconia nostra valebunt,

with a change in verb from perfect to future. Yet Propertius has (4, 14, 23) the equivalent quaecumque aderant in corpore vires, and Cicero (*Archias* 6, 13) facultas, quae quantacumque in me est, which, both in form and in substance, is the basis of the *Culex* form of statement. This substituted *vires* for *facultas*, and changed the adjective to an adverb, which was changed by Propertius, and used by Ovid years afterward.

The expression discordantes . . . fratres (C. 254) may be considered Ovidian from its kinship to Ovid's (*Met.* 1, 60) tanta est discordia fratrum, yet it is better taken as the first expression of an idea, taken from Lucretius, permeating the later works of Vergil (*Ecl.* 1, 71; *Georg.* 2, 496; 4, 68; *Aen.* 7, 545), and culminating in the personification (*id.* 8, 702):

Et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla.

A similar pervasive theme, also drawn from Lucretius, is that of the happy or fortunate man (*Ecl.* 1, 47; *Georg.* 2, 458; *Aen.* 1, 437).

The non-recurring elements, both formal and constructional, would have more weight in the discussion if it could be shown that they are not outside the range of the mature Vergil; that their use would not require a metrical reconstruction of the lines; that they are not merely transfers from an earlier writer; and that other forms were not deliberately selected by Vergil. The use of some of them in only a few places by Ovid, and the use of others by Horace in non-epic associations, may well raise a doubt in regard to their fitness for the range of Vergil. The *Culex* has *cubuere* (154), Vergil only the compound forms of the verb. Of eleven occurrences in Ovid but one is in *Met.* (11, 612). The *Culex* has *excelsus* (46: 155), Vergil possibly only *celsus*. Ovid has the latter 14 times; the former five, only one in *Met.* (15, 842). The use of the simple verb for the compound or *vice versa* may be considered as a part of metrical art. If the other words selected for the line are the best, the form of the verb may be accommodated to this fact. The *Culex* has *aversatur uterque* (256), of the Theban brothers. It is said of Dido *aversa tuetur* (*Aen.* 4, 362)

and oculos aversa tenebat (*id.* 6, 469). *Aversatur* is almost reproduced phonetically, and its use would have required a reconstruction of the line. It is the same with *conscelerata* (375):

Conscelerata pia discernis vincula sede.

Vergil condenses (*Aen.* 2, 576) to *scleratas sumere poenas*. The writer of the *Culex* found *praepando* in the *Aratea* of Cicero and in Lucretius, and he transferred it to his own work. Vergil found *florida* . . . *prata* in Lucretius (5, 785), and shows his developed skill by changing to *florea rura* (*Aen.* 1, 430).

Metrical art was more important to Vergil than the rules of technical grammar, and the latter was not infrequently sacrificed to the former, and some of the features of the *Culex* which seem non-Vergilian are well illustrated in his later works. In similar connections he has in the *Aeneid* *descendere* with and without *ab* (7, 674: 4, 159), and *tendere* with and without *ad* (2, 391: 6, 696). *Prospicit* is used with both *ab* and *ex* (6, 385: 7, 29). We find *tempora ramo* | *Implicat* (7, 135 f.) as well as *velat* . . . *tempora myrto* (5, 72). Sometimes the viewpoint is changed, as in *obvertunt pelago proras* (6, 3) and *terraeque advertere proras* (7, 35). The simple as well as the compound form of a verb is used with the same object, as *pendere* and *expendere* with *poenas* (7, 595: 10, 669), *se tollit* and *se attollere* (8, 541: 8, 32), *torquere* and *contorquere* with *spicula* (*Ecl.* 10, 59 f.: 7, 165), as also the first and *intorquere* with *telum* (5, 497: 9, 534). Occasionally the association is with similar terms, as *aestuat* . . . *pudor* (10, 870): *exaestuat ira* (9, 798), *cernere* and *decernere* (12, 218: 11, 218), *fugit* and *effugit* (5, 740: 2, 793), *tendere* and *intendere* (7, 164: 8, 704), *transigit* and *transadigit* (9, 634: 12, 276; 508). Similar to these are *conixa* (*Ecl.* 1, 15) and *enixa* (8, 44), *saturata* (5, 608) and *exsaturata* (7, 298).

The *Culex* has *exorabile* following a negative (288):

Non erat in vitam divinae exorabile mortis,

or something similar, as *Non fas, non erat*. This in form is not unlike *Aen.* 6, 47 f. *non color unus* | *Non comptae mansere comae*. A positive also follows the negative, as *secunda* (*Georg.* 1, 67), *noxia* (6, 731), *tractabile* (4, 53). Ovid has *non exorabile* and *inexorabile* once each (*Met.* 2, 546: 5, 244), the latter with *odium* equal to *i. fatum* (*Georg.* 2, 491). The *Culex* has *inviolata* (263), and Ovid only *Liv.* 43; *Nux* 52. Vergil does not use it, but Cicero (*ad Att.* 1, 3, 3) has *minus exorabilem*, and *inviolatus* in his early orations, and the writer of the *Culex* may simply have followed copy, while later, Vergil took the unusual *inexorabilis*, but not *inviolatus*. Similar data in the non-recurring elements, do not disprove authorship by Vergil, but are rather in favor of it, for they show that the *Culex* stands in the same relation to parts of the work of Vergil, as these parts stand to each other.

Collice Henry³, after the most painstaking examination of the

³The Language of the *Culex*, a Poem of the "Appendix Vergiliana." A Dissertation, Leland Stanford Junior University. 1927.

vocabulary decides that the *Culex* was not written by Vergil, but either by Ovid or by some one very much under Ovidian influence. It is shown that there are in the first one hundred lines 163 exclusively Ovidian expressions, 46 Vergilian and 24 Propertian. If relative length of works cuts any figure in the discussion, as the works of Ovid are to the works of Propertius as 8.5 to 1, this would give 202 for Propertius had his work been as long as those of Ovid. The number for Vergil seems to indicate that he stands further from the *Culex* than does Ovid. But to the number given for Vergil can fairly be added about a score of others, as *Thalia*, *consonare*, *culpare*, *hinc atque hinc*, used first by Vergil, and later taken up by other writers. With these additions the figures for the three writers will show the indeterminational character of this phase of the question. Perhaps, too, there may be a difference in interpreting the data presented. As an example (C. 18 f.):

Quare, *Pierii laticis decus, ite, sorores
Naides, et celebrate deum plaudente *chorea.

Ovid has sorores | Naides (*Met.* 3, 506), Pieridum choro (*Tr.* 5, 3, 10), Pieriis choris (*Pont.* 1, 5, 58), and Naidumque choris (*Fasti* 1, 512), but not *chorea* which the *Culex* adapted from Lucretius (2, 636) pernice chorea.

The data presented show that the *Culex* was a common source for the poets who followed, and it would be strange if the attitude of Ovid was not that of the others. A prolific borrower, without deep purpose or thought, it is not surprising that he was attracted by the *Culex*. His elegy on the dead psittacus (*Am.* 4, 6) bears some resemblance to the *Culex*, as it takes the dead bird to Hades, and has an epitaph at the close. The originality of this can be fairly judged by that of the remainder of the poem. The hereafter of the bird may have been suggested by Catullus (3, 11 f.), certainly the command exequias ite frequenter, aves (see Terence, *Phormio* 1026) equals (*Cat.* 3, 1):

Lugete, O Veneres Cupidinesque.

Si qua fides (51) is from Vergil (*Aen.* 2, 142 f.), and *iaces* merely changes the tense of *iacebis* (*Aen.* 5, 871). The words frigida lingua, in the story about Orpheus (*Georg.* 4, 525) suggested (48):

Clamavit moriens lingua 'Corinna, vale'!

From the same source (*Georg.* 4, 511) philomela . . . queritur came quereris, Philomela (7). The position of *resonant* in the verse, as well as the thought expressed indicate the kinship of 6 and *Georg.* 2, 328:

Pro longa resonant carmina vestra tuba:
Avia tum resonant avibus virgulta canoris.

Graculus auctor aquae (34) is a slight variation from the words of Horace (*Odes* 3, 17, 12 f.) aquae . . . augur | Annosa cornix, while (*id.* 1, 27, 1 f.):

Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis,

seems the basis of (44) Quid referam . . . | Vota procelloso per mare

Noto? Ovid asks *Quid iuvat?* as does Propertius (1, 2, 1), and both have *smaragdus* (21: 3, 7, 43). The words *lapis exiguus* (59) were suggested by *in exiguo . . . busto*, which precede the epitaph in Propertius (3, 5, 33). The reason for these resemblances is partly explained by the words of Ovid himself (*Tristia* 4, 10, 43):

Saepe suas volucres legiti mihi grandior aevo,
Quaeque nocet serpens, quae iuvat herba, Macer.
Saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes
Iure sodalitii, quo mihi iunctus erat.
Et tenuit nostras numerosus Horatius aures.

With the indications of the use of other writers, we may assume that he drew from Macer the words *volucrum locus ille piarum | Dicitur*.

In order to trace the source of the epitaph we give three others (C. 413 f.; Vergil *Ecl.* 5, 43 f.; Propertius 3, 5, 36 f.):

Parve culex pecudum custos tibi tale merenti
Funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit:
Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,
Formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse:
Et duo sint versus, qui nunc iacet horrida pulvis,
Unius hic quondam servus amoris erat:
Colligor ex ipso dominae placuisse sepulcro;
Ora fuere mihi plus ave docta loqui.

Placuisse in the last is drawn from Propertius (1, 7, 11) *doctae solum placuisse puellae*, and with *exiguus*, see above, marks Propertius as the source for Ovid. The former as is shown by his super addita busto drew on the *Eclogues* (5, 42) *tumulo super addite carmen*. For this the *Culex* has *flores | His tumulus super inseritur*. Not only in this phrasing do these two epitaphs have a common bond but also in *pecudum custos: pecoris custos*, and in the dignity which pervades them both. It is the erotic character which distinguishes those in Ovid and Propertius.

The way of the imitator can be seen by comparing the account of Orpheus by Ovid (*Met.* 10, 1-83; 11, 1-66) with that by Vergil (*Georg.* 4, 453-527). Ovid closely follows the outlines of Vergil's story from *dum . . . vagatur* (*Met.* 10, 9), a correction of Vergil's *dum fugeret* (G. 457) to the closing (*Met.* 11, 66):

Eurydicenque suam iam tuto respicit Orpheus,

for Vergil's (G. 490 f.) *Eurydicenque suam iam luce sub ipsa . . . respexit*. There are some new items introduced, as the inartistic simile (*Met.* 10, 64 ff.) falling far, far below the one of the nightingale (*Georg.* 4, 511 ff.). There are a score of similar touches appropriated by Ovid, and one from the *Culex*, *turba ferarum* (C. 278: *Met.* 11, 44). The *Culex* gives the ante-, Ovid the post-Hades experience of Orpheus, a transfer similar to that of the material mentioned above. Ovid has:

Te maestae volucres, Orpheu, te turba ferarum,
Te rigidi silices, te carmina saepe secutae
Fleverunt silvae: positis te frondibus arbos
Tonsa comam luxit.

The weak ending, passing from *silvae* to *arbos*, is apparently the result of seeking to parallel the form in the *Culex*:

Iam rapidi steterant amnes et turba ferarum
Blanda voce sequax regionem insederat Orphei,
Iamque imam viridi radicem moverat alte
Quercus humo, *steterant amnes* silvaeque sonorae
Sponte sua cantus rapiebant cortice avara.

Viridi and *rigidi* are phonetically the same, and the series
turba . . . silvae . . . arbos: turba . . . quercus . . . silvae

differ only in arrangement. If we correct the fourth line of the *Culex* passage by the words of Ovid we would have:

Quercus humo silvaeque sonorae saepe secutae,

the last two words having been omitted from the end of the line, when *steterant amnes* was wrongly introduced from a preceding line, thus obviating the need for the last two words. But apart from this reconstruction, the passage in Ovid verbally resembles that in the *Culex*, along with a score of others that come from Vergil, *secutae* . . . *silvae* being changed in case and tense from *silvasque sequentes* (*Ecl.* 3, 46). This is a fairly secure basis for claiming that the one passage was adapted for the same reason as the others, from the knowledge that it was the work of Vergil.

In the interpretation of the relation of the narrative of the gnat to that of Vergil we are confronted with two facts: a difference in outlines, a resemblance in substance. Ovid declares in a passage quoted below that as he followed his predecessors, so his successors followed him. Judging by this declaration a later imitator would not vary from the outlines, when Ovid did not do so in the case of the Orpheus episode. The second phase of the question—parallelism in statement, with a few instances of betterment in statement, can be best explained by assuming that the *Culex* narrative, so far as it refers to the lower world, was a first draft developed with far greater skill by Vergil in his maturer years.

Ovid tells us that Messalla (*Pont.* 2, 3, 77 f.):

Primus, ut auderem committere carmina famae,
Impulit. Ingenii dux fuit ille mei.

But there is no implication that the case of Ovid was different from that of other poets patronized by other men. His autobiography (*Trist.* 4, 10) sets forth his early poetical trials, and that although his father opposed (19 f.):

At mihi iam puero caelestia sacra placebant,
Inque suum furtim Musa trahebat.

He names those by whom he was influenced, and states that he became the fourth in the series with Gallus, Tibullus and Propertius, and

Utque ego maiores, sic me coluere minores.

Reverting to his earliest work he says that his beard had been cut *bisve semelve* when he first read his juvenile poems, and adds the significant words:

Moverat ingenium totam cantata per Urbem
 Nomine non vero dicta Corinna mihi.
 Multa quidem scripsi, sed quae vitiosa putavi,
 Emendaturis ignibus ipse dedit.

He published only his best, and there is no indication that he varied from the type of poetry written by Propertius whom he worshipped. His own words expressing the relationship *iure sodalitii* indicate a relationship which Ovid would hardly disregard by writing elegy under him as master, and in writing hexameter poetry for others. Besides this it would be an unheard of act for the young aspirant, so soon to be riding on the crest of popularity, to abjure, practically, his position in the field of elegy by putting out his work under the name of another. Would such a move have succeeded? We hold that such an attempt would have been futile during Vergil's lifetime, and any such attempt soon after his death would have raised the question Where has this work been kept? The answer would have anticipated the famous "O, Metter Nicht" with an equally emphatic "O non Vergilius." Any theory of substitution provides no basis for the assignment of the *Culex* to a definite time in the life of Vergil. To account for this there must have been something definitely fixed in his chronology which was repeated by later writers.

In the *Tristia* (4, 10, 1) Ovid characterizes himself as *tenerorum lusor amorum*, changing a word of *Am.* 3, 15, 1. He also writes (*Tr.* 5, 1, 7):

Integer et laetus laeta et iuvenalia lusi,
 Illa tamen nunc me composuisse piget.

At an earlier period it was to Corinna that he ascribed his inspiration (*Am.* 3, 12, 15 f.):

Cum Thebe, cum Troia foret, cum Caesaris acta,
 Ingenium movit sola Corinna meum.

In the last line he copies Propertius (2, 1, 4), just as in *Am.* 1, 1, 1 f. he adapts the thought of Vergil (*Ecl.* 6, 3 ff.). In none of these passages is there any indication that he departed from the writing of elegy, and composed anything similar to the *Culex*. His *iuvenalia carmina* are definitely indicated in *Pont.* 3, 3, 29:

Tu mihi dictasti iuvenalia carmina primus:
 Apposui senis te duce quinque pedes.

The last line positively asserts that the elegiac meter was used in his early poems, and this statement excludes the *Culex* from the list. He once assayed higher themes, but (*Tr.* 2, 339):

Ad leve rursus opus, iuvenalia, veni.

We give the results of some other quests in search of the solution of the problem. Professor Drew⁴ has examined the *Culex* and the works of Vergil with reference to the sources, Greek and Latin, from which either or both writers may have drawn material. He concludes

⁴*Culex, Sources and Their Bearing on the Problem of Authorship.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1925.

that "the *Culex* stands artistically between Lucretius and Vergil" (p. 46), that "the *Culex* was not formally published, and I doubt if it was ever intended for publication" (p. 105), that "the poet never revised and 'edited' his work from a series of exercises into a complete whole" (p. 106), and that (final paragraph):

"All the effort and exertion in imitation and improving upon the past is just what we should expect, not only in youthful Vergil, but in a maturer Vergil in the first stages of composition. The author of the *Georgics* would have rejected many, indeed most, of the *Culex's* lines: he would not have quarrelled seriously with the poet's philosophy of life."

The questions of revision and of publication lie entirely outside of the question of sources, and cannot be evolved from it. But running through the entire question there is involved that of the genetic development of Vergil. And here analysis can show only possibility, for parallel passages which to one critic may appear to indicate progression on the part of the poet, to another may seem the retrogression of an imitator. Yet as there was a poetical movement from the *Eclogues* through the *Aeneid*, it is a fair assumption that Vergil started on a basis lower than that shown in the former. Not altogether inapplicable, assuming that Vergil wrote the *Culex*, are the words of Cicero (*de Sen.* 10, 33):

"Sua cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas data est, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturalem quiddam habeat"

Professor Sturtevant draws the following conclusion:⁵

"Our figures are therefore in harmony with the theory that the *Culex* was composed by Vergil in his youth, after the principal features of his technique were fixed, but before he had attained the degree of uniformity that appears in his mature work."

However, this conclusion loses some of its force by the admission that an imitator might have hit upon Vergil's method..

The conclusion of Professor Kent⁶ has no reservations:

"The *Culex* has so little elision that on this score alone one would deny its Vergilian authorship. With so few elisions it may safely be compared with the single *Eclogues*, none of which has as many elisions as the *Culex*. Taken thus, it has too much of Q and too little of M and L. It was clearly not by Vergil."

And again (p. 97) "The *Culex* might be by Ovid."

The usage in the early poems of Vergil and of Ovid, and in the *Culex* can be seen from the following, from which the figures for the abnormal *Med. Fac.* have been excluded.

| | <i>T</i> | <i>Q</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>S</i> | <i>L</i> |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <i>Eclogues</i> , range in per cent..... | 0-13 | 7-24 | 13-36 | 11-49 | 9-33 |
| <i>Culex</i> , range in per cent..... | 13 | 47 | 6 | 30 | 4 |
| <i>Elegiacs</i> , range in per cent..... | 20-43 | 16-29 | 4-14 | 27-35 | 3-12 |

⁵ *Accent and Ictus in the Latin Hexameter*. T. A. P. A. Vol. liv, p. 71.

⁶ *Likes and Dislikes in Elision, and the Vergilian Appendix*. T. A. P. A. Vol. liv, p. 95.

The *Culex* differs from the *Eclogues* in Q, M and L.; from the *Elegiacs* in T and Q. The figures are as exclusive for the young Ovid as for the young Vergil, neither showing the same facility in the elision of *-que*, and Vergil not in the elision of *m* and long vowels. The elidable elements in the *Culex* are somewhat less than for the *Eclogues*, either as a whole or in two groups of about the same length as the *Culex*, *Eclogues* 1 to 5, 6 to 10, although the per cent for each does not greatly differ in the three pieces.

The per cent per verse of elisions rises from an average of 29 in the *Eclogues* to 49 in the *Georgics*, and then to 55 in the *Aeneid*. The *Culex* with 10 per cent is just as far from the *Eclogues* as they are from the *Georgics*, and the 47 for Q in the former is not more noticeable than the 49 for S in the eighth *Eclogue*. Professor Kent writes (p. 91):

"The *Ibis* and *Med. Fac.* which depart from the norm of the elegiacs, have too few elisions to be taken as overturning the standard."

The average for the *Elegiacs* varies widely from the figures for the *Ibis*, in T and Q, and, if the criterion is valid, it indicates that it was not written by Ovid. But failing in this respect, the claim cannot be maintained that it holds in the case of the *Culex*. The results from the elision test in the case of the *Culex* is the opposite of the beginning-dactyl test. Both tests can not be valid, and it may be that neither one is. In other words a variable element cannot serve as a constant for measurement. A good illustration, although far removed from the *Culex*, is the *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* of Avienus compared with his *Aratea Phaenomena*, of about the same length, 1394 to 1325 verses. So far as the schemata are concerned both works might pass for classical Latin. They are similar in the elision of *-ae*, and with *sese*, yet the former has nearly 50 per cent more of elisions than the latter, there being a noticeable increase in S with a lower per cent for the other kinds excepting Q. In the *Prognostica* S is still more emphasized, and the per cent for all the others falls below that in the *Descriptio*.

Professor Fairclough⁷ points out that the *Culex* shows a non-Vergilian element of 89 words, 21.25 in a hundred lines, the *Eclogues* 12.3, the *Georgics* 14.4. These figures show that these last works stand nearer to the *Aeneid* with 8.3 than does the *Culex*, and in the case of the *Georgics* it is noted that "their vocabulary is much nearer to the Vergilian norm than is that of the poems in the Appendix." He closes his discussion of the poems with the following:

"The result of our examination of the vocabulary of the Minor poems has been to confirm us in our conviction . . . that probably not a single one of these poems has been correctly assigned to Vergil."

He lists 89 non-Vergilian words, 58 of which are used by Ovid. Later investigation by Collice Henry (*op. cit.*) shows 94 non-Vergilian words in the poem, and 43 non-Ovidian, in the ratio of 2.2 to 1. The ratio of length of the works of the two poets is about 2.5 to 1, so that

⁷The Poems of the Appendix Vergiliana. T. A. P. A. liii, p. 19 ff.

the figures for the non-recurring element is slightly in favor of Vergil. Propertius uses 28 of the non-Vergilian words in the ratio of 1 to 2.25 for those in Ovid. But the relative number of verses of these two poets is 1 to 8.5, showing that on this basis, a much stronger argument can be made for Propertius than for Ovid as author of the *Culex*. Some of the words not used by Ovid are in the works of Vergil, and on this basis the decision must be in favor of Vergil; but each set of figures disproves what may seem proved by the other. The data given are purely incidental to the wider range of the vocabulary of Ovid. This can be seen by comparing it with the vocabulary in the poems of Tibullus and Propertius. Ovid has all or nearly all of the words in some of their individual poems, so that, on this basis, as strong an argument can be made for him as author of the poems as for the authors themselves. Some of the words seem to be favorites of Ovid as he uses *charta* 14 times and *lyra* 49. But he has *scribo* (63), *scriptum* (57), *littera* (61), *epistula* (14), *tabella* (45) and *pagina* (5), only the last being found in Vergil, and that but once *Ecl.* 6, 12 quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen. Along with *lyra* Ovid has *tibia* (13) and *tibicen* (5), neither used by Vergil. In contrast with this on the vocal side, Vergil has 16 occurrences of *canto*, all in the *Eclogues*, while Ovid uses it 46 times.

The occurrences in Vergil are a good illustration of the fact that vocabularies vary with theme, and this is most clearly shown by the works of Ovid. These may be roughly divided into three groups of about 10,000 verses each—the A(matory), M(etamorphoses) and L(ater) works. A few words are fairly characteristic of the *Culex*, are rare in Vergil, but are used with some freedom by Ovid. Among these are *distans* (11), *liquor* (6), *feritas* (13), which are not in A, *corymbus* in M only once, and *evectus* twice. The plural *neces* (C. 310) is not in Ovid, although the singular occurs 57 times. *Panes* occurs once in each of the divisions of Ovid's works. Yet one is used by Statius; the other by Valerius Flaccus, each almost an alter Vergilius. If the absence of these words from the works of the mature Vergil has weight against Vergil, their presence in the later writers favors him as author of the *Culex* from which they probably drew the words.

About 20 per cent of the non-Vergilian terms in the *Culex* occur from one to three times, and when occurring in but one or two of the divisions can be used against the authorship by Ovid of the other sections. *Parilis* and *verno* are not in A, *herois*, *historia*, *inertia* and *viduus* not in M; *refoveo* and *tentus* not in L. *Conscelero*, *exorabilis*, *epops* and *nectareus* are only in M, and but once each. *Revolubilis* is in the *Ibis* only, and in a different connection. *Leto* and *vecors* in the *Ibis* and *Met.* once each, as *quantumcumque* in *Tristia* (1, 6, 36), and *respectus* (*id.* 1, 3, 100) and *Ponto* (4, 9, 100). *Inviolatus* occurs twice: *Liv.* 43; *Nux* 52. *Floridus* is limited to L, although the comparative is in *Met.* 13, 790. *Perfidia* is found once in M and three times in A. Only one of 26 occurrences of *iocus* is in the *Metamorphoses*.

It is the same with some personal adjectives and names. *Cadmeis* is used only in *Met.* three times, and *Cilix* only *Met.* 2, 207. *Pierius*

not at all in *Met.*, elsewhere three times, Pieriae aquae (*Am.* 3, 9, 26) coming nearest to Pierii laticis (*C.* 18). *Cadmeus* is in *Fasti* (6, 553), *Nyctelius* in *A. A.* (1, 567); *Met.* 4, 15. *Sparticus* is not in Ovid, while others, *Erichthonius*, *Giganteus* (5), *Hyperion* (6), and *Zanclaeus* are not in *A.* Of the eight occurrences of *Bistonius* only one is in *Met.* (13, 430). The nearest approach to *Erebus* is *Erebeae colubrae* (*Ibis* 229). The occurrence of *Anchisiades* and *Laomedontiades* in the *Aeneid*, and elsewhere of the plural adjectives *Libethrides* (*Ecl.* 7, 21), *Mareotides* (*Georg.* 2, 91), *Oceanitides* (*id.* 4, 340) and *Phaethontides* (*Ecl.* 6, 62), sufficiently indicates Vergil's ability to handle Greek terms in number requisite for his subject. Had inclination led the two poets to changed fields of activity, Vergil's work would have teemed with Grecian terms, and those of Ovid would have used them sparingly.

The expectancy of years for an individual may be computed, but computation has no place in determining the number of occurrences of individual words. Such data come only by observation, and the one little ripple of humor in these discussions is caused by the announcements by investigators of omissions in the data of their more weary eyed predecessors. Although the ratio of the length of the works of Vergil compared with those of Ovid's is approximately 1 to 2.5, yet this has no bearing on the occurrences of individual words. Vergil in his narrower field had greater need than had Ovid for certain words: *acies* (73:14), *castra* (55: 37), *hasta* (74:48), *fuga* (62:70), *ater* (82: 41), *fari* (93: 9), *fluvius* (38: 3). The opposite is also true, even in the use of some common terms where a reason for the difference is not apparent: *metuo* (23: 110), *mora* (47: 182), *cado* (53: 193), *invenio* (19: 82), *iungo* (44: 190), *precor* (38: 145), *verto* (32: 141), *verbum* (26: 388). A few illustrations giving the distribution of words in the works of the mature Vergil, and the occurrences in Ovid will be given. *Paene* (*E* 1: 18 ?), *lascivus* (*E* 2: 20), *oportet* (*E* 1: 7), *pro-ficio* (*E* 1: 12), *piger* (*G* 1: 20), *rapax* (*G* 1: 14), *ingenium* (*G* 3: 113), *numero* (*E* 1 *G* 2: 31), *subsum* (*E* 1, *G* 2: 25), *vitium* (*E* 1, *G* 1: 57), *pollex* (*A* 1: 28), *vito* (*A* 2: 38), *mollio* (*G* 1, *A* 1: 33). These ratios show that the vocabulary neither of Ovid nor of Vergil moves *pari passu*, and that there is not mathematical uniformity in the use of individual words by either writer. The chemist weighing the elements in a certain mass can calculate exactly for any similar mass, but given the occurrences of a word in any passage, book, or volume there can be no calculation of the occurrences in any other work, for investigators here are not dealing with specimens having material uniformity.

While the parallels are not specimens of physical uniformity, yet one might expect that there would be some degree of constructive uniformity. It is possible that the attitude Ovid may have changed in the course of years, but the same plea is as valid for Vergil as for Ovid. Taking some words with their associated terms as a unit, the presence of the words in the works of Ovid has little more weight in the discussion than has their absence from the works of Vergil.

Compos mente (C. 191) is not parallel to c. mentis (*Met.* 8, 35) nor to c. voti (*Art.* 1, 486), nor is gemmantia sceptrā (*Met.* 3, 264) in the same sphere as gemmantas herbas (C. 70). Pollentem sibi (C. 74) is unlike any of the seven occurrences of *polleo* in Ovid, none of which are in A. Pudibunda rosa (399) does not have anything like it in Ovid, nor is the *pupula* (186) of the shepherd suggestive of *pupula duplex fulminat oculis* (*Am.* 1, 8, 15). Squalida Tartara (C. 333) has nothing like it among the ten examples of the adjective or the eleven of the noun, none in A. Neither tentum cornu (*Met.* 6, 243) nor tenta carbasa (*Ep.* 10, 30), resembles tentis . . . ramis (C. 130). Of the 19 occurrences of *vagus* in Ovid only *vagus tibicen incedit* (*Fasti* 6, 653) is personal, just as only *Ponto* (4, 15, 1) has *invidus* (11) personal. Upon these facts can be based two equally valid propositions: There are noticeable differences between the vocabulary of the *Culex* and that of Vergil. There are noticeable differences between the vocabulary of the *Culex* and that of Ovid.

The application of the test to other works brings some interesting results. Professor Shipley has shown the inapplicability of the test to the works of Vergil, and other fields furnish similar results. The second *Epode* has 22 words not used elsewhere by Horace; the sixteenth 23. Cicero has all but 20 of the words in the former; of the latter Ovid has all but 22. In each case a writer who did not write the poems uses a slightly larger number of the words than does the author in his other works. There are 64 of the non-Vergilian words of the *Culex* in the works of Ovid, and, according to the indices, there are at least 62 of the same words in the works of Cicero. This fact counts for nothing in an argument for authorship by Cicero and has the same weight in an argument for Ovid. The relation of later writers to the *Culex* is important, but not less so that of the writer to Lucretius to whom he was deeply indebted.

The well known passage beginning O bona pastoris (C. 57 ff.), although based on *Lucr.* 2, 24 ff. has some little pieces drawn from other parts, as pectore puro (C. 68: L. 5, 18), gemmantes . . . per herbas (C. 70: herbae gemmantēs (L. 2, 319); florida cum tellus (C. 70): florida . . . prata (L. 5, 785); rorantes (C. 76: L. 3, 469). The statement (C. 80 f.) in regard to war is a condensation of *Lucr.* 2, 40-47. From Panchaeos . . . odores (L. 2, 417) came the suggestion for Panchaia tura (C. 87), cf. *Georg.* 4, 379 Panchaeis . . . ignibus, as Scipiades . . . Carthaginis horror (L. 3, 1034) is for Scipiadesque duces . . . Carthaginis horrent (C. 370 f.). Vibranti lingua separates and reverses the order of the words in L. 3, 657. The adjective used in crinibus et roseis . . . Aurora (C. 44) was suggested by roseam Auroram (L. 5, 656; cf. 610), as also the lengthened and weakened Cilici crocus editus arvo (C. 401) by croci Cilici (L. 2, 416). Omne propinquo | Frangitur invidiae telo decus (C. 341 f.) concisely summarizes four lines of Lucretius (5, 1125 ff.). Although the *Culex* has *trudere* (309) it also has (243):

Quid saxum procul adverso qui monte revolvit,

for *Lucr.* 3, 1000:

Hoc est adverso nixantem trudere monte.

The words *aranei tenuia fila* (*L.* 3, 383) may be taken as the suggestion for *C.* 2:

Atque ut araneoli tenuem formavimus orsum,

following the masculine form *araneus* as used by Lucretius and Catullus. With this may be compared *capreoli* (*Ecl.* 2, 41) which Columella (9, 1, 1) uses with the Lucretian *ferae pecudes* (*L.* 1, 15). With the evidence of adaptation in these lines we may safely hold that *generamen* (*C.* 334) is based on *generatim* (*L.* 1, 20 *et al.*), with an eye to *glomeramen*, as in *L.* 2, 686.

There are also other repetitions, adaptations or suggestions: *Ad summa cacumina* (*L.* 6, 464; *C.* 143) is a transferred phrase while *pernice . . . chorea* is changed by using a participle beginning with the same letter *plaudente chorea* (*C.* 19). *Super viridi . . . musco* (*L.* 5, 951) appears as *subter viridem . . . muscum* (*C.* 106) with change of preposition and of case. Apparently *fluviosque rapacis* (*L.* 1, 17) suggested *flammas . . . rapaces* (*C.* 103) *placidi pellacia ponti* (*L.* 2, 560; 5, 1002) even to the alliteration, *per placidum . . . pelagus* (*C.* 345); *tacita . . . dulcedine* (*L.* 3, 896): *nimia . . . dulcedine* (*C.* 126). Some of the equivalent present participles in addition to *gemmantem* and *rorantes*, already mentioned, are noticeable: *Distincta lepore* (5, 1376): *distincta coloribus* (*C.* 71); *languentia leto* | *Membra* (*L.* 5, 1005): *languentia corpora somno* (*C.* 93); *pingebant viridantes . . . herbas* (*L.* 5, 1395): *tondebant . . . viridantia gramina* (*C.* 50); cf. *conspargunt viridantes . . . herbas* (*L.* 2, 33); *Carpente . . . morsu* (*C.* 54): *ardenti ut morsu* (*L.* 3, 663). The phonetic adaptation here is noteworthy for it is akin to changes made by the mature Vergil, as *transfixo pectore flammas* (*Aen.* 1, 44) for *flammas . . . pectore perfixo* (*Lucr.* 6, 391 f.).

Lucretius has in 3, 1062 f.:

Irritata canum cum primum magna Molossum
Mollia ricta fremunt duros nudantia dentes,

and this was most inaptly taken by the young writer to describe Scylla (*C.* 331).

Illum Scylla rapax canibus succincta Molossis.

This is the act of immaturity rather than of imitation, and must precede the betterment in the *Ciris* (59):

Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus

Deprensos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis,

as well as the slight variation in *Ecl.* 6, 75 ff. The first of the *Culex* lines (62 f.):

Si non Assyrio fervent bis lauta colore
Attalidis opibus data vellera,

is improved in *Georg.* 2, 45:

Alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,

with *lana* for *lauta*, and *veneno* for the common *colore*. Avienus uses some of Vergil's phraseology (*Phaen.* 345 ff.):

. . . Agenoreo color hinc mentirier ostro
Incipit, Assyriumque bibunt nova vellera succum
Ebria ut externo splendescat lana veneno.

Something like this was probably in the *Aratea* of Cicero, and from this may have come the suggestion for the *Culex* and for Vergil. Lucretius (3, 1029 ff.) suggested Xerxes as a topic for the *Culex* (31 ff.) which changes to *venientis undique Persis*, the words of L. (3, 833) *venientibus undique Poenis*. The use of *discrimen* (L. 5, 690) *aequato caelum discrimine metans*, is the basis for the transformation in C. 102:

Lucidaque aetherio ponit discrimina mundo.

This flight will seem the more justifiable when we consider that the preceding words *Hyperionis ardor* are expressed by *solis . . . ardor* (L. 5, 564).

The color equipment of the *Culex* is taken chiefly from Lucretius. The description of morn (C. 42 ff.), has *igneus sol*, *candida lumina*, *aurato curru* and *crinibus roseis*. In this *igneus sol* is Vergilian, although a modification of Catullus 63, 39 *oris aurei sol*; cf. *Georg.* 1, 453 *color . . . igneus*. There is no exact parallel in Lucretius to *candida lumina*, although he uses the adjective nine times in similar connections, and the *Culex* collocation may have been suggested by *aperto lumine . . . loca candida* (5, 778 f.). From Lucretius came *auratus* with *templa* (2, 28) and *metalla* (6, 812). He also associates *rosea* with *Aurora*, but the writer of the *Culex* may have found a suggestion in Catullus 63, 74 *roseis . . . labellis*. Both works have *viridans*, as well as *viridis* six times each. Both use the latter with *muscus*, and it is associated with *silvas* (C. 382) for *saltus* (L. 2, 355). Lucretius has *virens* with *campus*, and one of the three examples in the *Culex* has it with *silvas*. *Pallens* and *purpureus* belong to both, but not *sanguineus* and *vernans*. As can be seen from this Lucretius is the source for the larger part of the color terms in the *Culex*, and they illustrate, not the native artistic power of the writer, but merely his skill as an adapter.

The metrical schemata give one of the best illustrations of the influence of Lucretius on the author. The first eight in Lucretius are the first eight in the *Ciris*, and the first nine are the first nine in the *Culex*, with slightly varying order and percentages. DSSS stands out prominently in Lucretius, but is second in the *Culex*. DSSD and DDSD, which are the sign manual of Ovid,⁸ are third and eighth in the *Culex*, in the *Ciris* sixth and seventh.

⁸Radford, *Tibullus and Ovid*. A. J. P. XLIV 299.

The following table gives the relative order for the different schemata.

| | <i>Lucretius</i> | <i>Culex</i> | <i>Ciris</i> | <i>Eclogues</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> |
|-----------|------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| DSSS..... | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| DDSS..... | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| SDSS..... | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| DDSS..... | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 4 |
| DDDS..... | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 6 |
| DSSD..... | 6 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 9 |
| SSSS..... | 7 | 9 | 7 | 10 | 5 |
| DDSD..... | 8 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 10 |
| SDDS..... | 9 | 7 | 10 | 9 | 8 |
| DSDD..... | 10 | 12 | 14 | 8 | 12 |
| SDSD..... | 11 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 11 |
| SSDS..... | 12 | 11 | 9 | 12 | 7 |
| DDDD..... | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 15 |
| SSSD..... | 14 | 16 | 11 | 14 | 13 |
| SDDD..... | 15 | 13 | 15 | 16 | 16 |
| SSDD..... | 16 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 14 |

The dactylic hexameter is made up of varying combinations of dactyls and spondees in the first four feet, ranging from DDDD to SSSS with fourteen intermediate variations. As the writers had to deal with verbal material already created, the mass of Latin hexameters have a preponderance of spondees with the exception of those of Ovid and Valerius Flaccus. While the mass of a writer's work may have a majority of dactyls or spondees, this is the resultant of the combination of lines with varying proportions, and the occurrences in smaller sections may be different from that in the mass. The spondees are most numerous in the *Culex*, but the dactyls in the first one-third. The *Eclogues* of Vergil show 47.6 per cent of dactyls, yet these are in the majority in *Eclogue* 9, and also in 8 because of the two dactylic refrains:

Incipe Maenalius mecum, mea tibia, versus;
Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.

The *Georgics* in sections of thirty lines range from 35 to 56 per cent of dactyls. In Ovid *Met.* 7, 192-317 the spondees predominate, and in Val. Flac. 4, 241-361 is a spondaic section between two that are dactylic. The works of Horace show a fairly uniform spondaic predominance, yet in *Epp.* 1, 19 the dactyls outnumber the spondees, and in *Sat.* 2, 6 Horace's part is spondaic, that of Cervius dactylic. In elegy the *Amores* of Ovid are still better illustrations of lack of metrical uniformity, for the introductory lines:

Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli,
Tres sumus: hoc illi praetulit auctor opus;
Ut iam nulla tibi nos sit legisse voluptas,
At levior demptis poena duobus erit,

give no basis for a hypothesis of metrical revision.

⁹Merrill, *The Lucretian Hexameter*, University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. 5, No. 12, pp. 253-296; No. 13, pp. 297-334.

¹⁰Radford, *American Journal of Philology*, XLIV, 306.

The first book of the *Amores* of Ovid has 774 lines. The same number of lines from *Aeneid* 12, and *Met.* 1, divided into sections the same length as the individual elegies, show for the former a variation of 11.5 percent in the dactyls, and an even greater difference between the first 30 and the last 42 lines of the *Met.* This illustrates the fact, which needs no demonstration, that the sums of variable factors will probably be variable, and that there can be no assured uniformity in metrical data.

Another phase emphasized in the presentations of the hexameter is the percentage of dactyls in the first foot. The following table gives the computations of percentages by Professor Kent, and shows that the *Culex* may properly be considered as the beginning of the usage of Vergil.

| | <i>Culex</i> | <i>Eclogues</i> | <i>Georgics</i> | <i>Aeneid</i> |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Dactyls, first foot..... | 67 | 65 | 63 | 61 |
| Dactyls, first four feet..... | 47.6 | 47.6 | 44 | 44 |

Professor Kent adds:

"With the number of dactyls in the first four feet of the hexameter as a criterion, all of these poems might be by Vergil, and none might be by Ovid."

However, it should be noted that the percentage for the first book of the *Aeneid* is 57, for the tenth 64, a difference of 7. For the first foot, the first book of Lucretius shows 61 per cent, the third and sixth 75, the fourth and fifth a little less.

The percentage of dactyls and spondees is taken as the measure of the fluency of the hexameter, but the fluency itself is due to the content, which involves among other elements *-ere* in the third plural of the perfect indicative; the ending *-ibus* of the third declension; and the connective *-que*. There are in the *Culex* but few occurrences of the first, not really enough for a safe comparison. The ending *-ibus* is used with about the same freedom in the *Culex* and the *Eclogues*, but there is a steady increase through the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* in the number of occurrences in the fourth foot. The part played by *-que* is far more important. In the *Culex et* is predominant, but in the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, as well as in all later epic poetry the triumph of *-que* is very noticeable. Vergil has this connective four or five times in each of four verses, and three times in each of twenty. However, the feature of most interest is *-que -que*, joined to the closing words of a verse fifty-four times. These doublets are at the beginning of lines, are separated by an intervening word, are followed by a trisyllable, or are used with pairs of balanced words. An illustration of each of these is given from the *Aeneid*:

- 1, 566: Virtutesque virosque aut tanti incendia belli;
- 1, 599: Quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque;
- 1, 477: Lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur;
- 1, 744: Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones.

The *Eclogues* have *-que -que* at the beginning of the verse (4, 51), and a trisyllable following the doublet (3, 46; 5, 28; 5, 78; 6, 27). There are balanced terms (6, 42; 8, 22; 8, 34; 8, 35; 10, 23), with a number

of lines containing *-que* three times each. In the first book of the *Georgics* there are seven occurrences of *-que -que* at the beginning of verses, but in the later books there was a noticeable shift to the end, and this is the most frequent position in the *Aeneid*. The *Culex* (405) has the particles at the beginning:

Chrysanthusque hederaeque nitor pallente corymbo;

and balanced terms (141):

Umbrosaeque monent fagus haderaeque ligantes.

Either one of these phases of the usage with *-que -que* may be fairly considered as early Vergilian.

According to Wetmore *-que : et ::* 4168 : 3159, including the *Appendix*, with this omitted the ratio for *-que* would be a little higher. The use of *-que -que* is well developed in the *Amores* of Ovid as well as in his later works, and these freely use doublets followed by a dissyllable at the end of the pentameter. The *Culex* is on the same plane as the Lygdamus poems, but less developed than the *Eulogy* on Messalla, except in the use of *-ve -ve*. This occurs at the end of the interpolated line after 194 casusve deusve. But there is the same ending *Ciris* 279 casusve deusve, and *Aen.* 9, 211, and also the variation *Aen.* 12, 321 casusne deusne, imitated by Ovid (*Fasti* 2, 782) *audentes forsne deusne iuvet*. The usage with both *-que -que* and *-ve -ve* can properly be considered as the beginning of the development shown in the works of the mature Vergil.

The writer of the *Culex* knew his Catullus, especially 64. *Sancte puer* (C. 26 and 37) is from Cat. 64, 95 where it is applied to Cupid, and furnishes a good opportunity to refine on the propriety of the term when applied to Octavius. *Illi laude sua vigeant* (C. 372) has the verb of *haec vigeant mandata* (Cat. 64, 232), and there are a number of palpable adaptations, as (C. 224):

Restitui superis leti iam limine ab ipso,

worked over from a *mortis limine restituum* (Cat. 68, 4). This is also true of *quoscumque . . . aura parit flores . . . fecunda* (*id.* 64, 280) slightly changed to *quoscumque novant vernantia tempora flores* (410). Compare *aura secunda id.* 68, 63, also in C. 344. The unusual *aureolus* (C. 142) was also used by Catullus (61, 163).

There are three interesting variations: *Tua dum mi carior ipsa | Vita fuit vita* (C. 211 f.) has the thought of Catullus (64, 215):

Gnate mihi longa iucundior unice vita,

and *id.* 65, 10 *vita frater amabilior*, although the words of Verginius (Livy 3, 50, 5) *sibi vitam filiae sua cariorem fuisse*, have a closer resemblance. Somewhat similar is Cat. 64, 142:

Quae cuncta aerii discernunt irrita venti,

the thought in which, expressed in different words, is thrown into the future in C. 380 f.:

. . . dimittes omnia ventis
Et mea diffusas rapiuntur dicta per auras.

With these may be compared Cat. 65, 17 *vagis nequiquam credita ventis*. However, the most interesting passage is that describing the trees in C. 123-145. The embryo of this is in Cat. 64, 288 f.:

. . . . Namque ille tulit radicitus altas
Fagos ac recto proceras stipite laurus,
Non sine nutanti platano lentaque sorore
Flammati Phaethontis et acria cupressu.

Aeria is transferred to *platanus* (C. 124) as to *quercus* (*Aen.* 3, 680), *ambustus Phaethon* (C. 128) is used as in Horace (*Odes* 4, 11, 25), and *procerus* is applied to the pine. The additions to the list of Catullus are evidently for the purpose of showing a knowledge of tree associations, of the lotus with Ulysses, the Amagdala with Demophoon, and the pine with the Argo.

A feature of some interest is the relative position of the noun and its modifier in successive pairs. Of the twelve possible arrangements those in which the adjective come first and give color to the verse far outnumber those in which the noun is first. In the *Culex* nearly two-thirds are arranged either Aa nN as in 78 and 97:

Semper opaca novis manantia fontibus antra;
Securam placido traducit pectore vitam.

or still more freely Aa Nn, as in 102 and 105:

Lucidaque aetherio ponit discrimina mundo;
Ima susurrantis repetebant ad vada lymphae.

These arrangements decrease quite regularly through the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, while the arrangement AN an increases, as in 89:

Illi dulcis adest requies et pura voluptas.

There is a similar increase in the chiastic arrangement AN na, as in 46:

Pastor, et excelsi montis iuga summa petivit.

There is, too, a steady increase in the anaphoric arrangement with the noun coming first, as in 80:

Quam qui mente procul pura sensu probando,

but a decrease in the chiastic arrangement of the adjectives, as in 55:

Vel salicis lentae vel quae nova nascitur alnus.

The usage of the *Culex* is in this respect a palpable imitation of Catullus in whose poems the grouping Aa nN is very noticeable, as in 64, e. g. 34:

Cum Phrygii Teucro manabant sanguine *campi,

a line which is imitated in C. 306 and 302:

Teucra cum magno manaret sanguine tellus:
. . . a navibus ignes Argolicis Phrygios.

Here there is a change in the association of *Teucra* and also the introduction of *magno*. Statius has a similar change in *Achil.* 1, 86:

Cum tuus Acacides tepido modo sanguine Teucros
Undabit campos.

In this he apparently followed as a model Vergil who has in *Aen.* 4, 657:

. . . si litora tantum
Numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae,

for Catullus 64, 172:

Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes,

the words being shifted and changed with maturer skill than is shown in the *Culex* example. Other writers have some of the arrangements in pairs of words, and in the use of *aa nn* Tibullus and Propertius outrank the *Culex*, and the most marked frequency is in the *Eulogy on Messalla*.

The writer seems to have read Sallust, at least there is the same free use of the forms of *obvius*, the same over-emphasis of *anxius* as in the *Jugurtha*, and the act of the shepherd prosiluit furibundus is but a varied statement of the act of Catiline furibundus . . . se . . . proripuit (*Cat.* 31, 9).

The extent of the indebtedness of the author to Cicero has not been determined, yet there are indications that some of his works may have been used. The mature Vergil does not use *tribuo* (388), but it occurs quite frequently in the *De Oratore*. If the non-occurrence has weight against Vergil as an author, its presence in Cicero has equal weight in indicating a connection between him and the *Culex*. Vergil does not use *cubare* (C. 154) or *recubare* (C. 175) except as present participle. The *de Or.* has one (1, 59, 251), the other (3, 17, 63). *Patulis . . . ramis* is in 1, 7, 28, as in C. 146, and *remotus* (1, 61, 260) occurs with an abstract noun as in C. 73 and 198. However, there are clearer indications that the author of the *Culex* made use of the poetry of Cicero. The description of the gnat, *parvulus . . . umoris . . . alumnus* (C. 183) is an adaptation of the words of Cicero, *aquae dulcis alumnae* (*Aratea* 216). There are also other touches in the *Culex* showing a similar use of this work. The departure *iustitiae prior illa fides* (C. 227) must have been in the poem of Cicero, as it is in the *Aratea* of Germanicus (130) and also of Avienus (349). In describing Draco, Cicero uses *torvus* which becomes *immanis serpens* (C. 164: Germanicus 49), and C. has also *aspectu . . . torvo* (173) and *torva . . . lumina* (189). There is a similar change in Cicero's *parilique nitore*: C. (378) *pariles . . . honore*. Both Cicero (*Prog.* 132) and the *Culex* (101) have *Hyperion* as a variation for *Sol*.

These parallels are important in the discussion, for the mature Vergil drew with some freedom from the same source, as in *clari praenuntia solis* (300): *tanti praenuntia luctus* (*Aen.* 11, 139); *Neptunia prata* (373): *arva . . . Neptunia* (*Aen.* 8, 695); *labentia nocte* (582): *l. caelo* (*Aen.* 3, 151); *obscura nocte tenetur* (652): *obscurum . . . caelo . . . tenebat* (*Aen.* 3, 203); *caeca caligine nubes* (591): *caeca caligine soles* (*Aen.* 3, 203). *Ardentia lumina* are the same in both (C. 732: *Aen.* 2, 405). As further illustrations of the use of the words of Cicero by Vergil, see from the fragments *praepetibus pinnis* (as in

Aen. 3, 361); *genuere parentes* (as in *Aen.* 1, 606); and *incunabula nostra* (*ad Att.* 2, 15, 3): *gentis cunabula nostrae* (*Aen.* 3, 105).

The Greek Bucolic poets must be taken into consideration in presenting the influences exerted on the youthful poet. And in presenting this we must bear in mind that they were potent in shaping the work of Vergil in the *Eclogues*. The tree (C. 123 ff.) and flower (C. 398 ff.) sections, although developed from Catullus, have their embryo in Theocritus who (22, 36 ff.) refers to all manner of trees, but with due restraint mentions only the firs, poplars, planes and cypresses, and, not naming any flowers, his is the basis of the *quoscumque* of Catullus and the *Culex*. The spider-like beginning of the latter (2) is a suggestion from the wish that spiders may weave their slender web above the arms of War (Th. 19, 96). Moschos (3, 80), as the *Culex* (26), sings not of war. Theocritus (7, 137) has water welling from a grotto, as has the *Culex* (78 and 148). The mention of the locusts singing (Th. 5, 34) becomes an entire line (C. 153), and of the birds warbling on a tree (Th. 5, 48) becomes two (C. 146 f.). The mere notice of the noon-tide resting shepherds (Th. 16, 94) is the basis of the five lines (C. 97 ff.) containing *requievit . . . soporem . . . somno . . . quietem*. The triple threat of the serpent (C. 179) is akin to the three of the Nemaean lion (Th. 25, 243). Telamon (C. 295; 315: Th. 13, 37) figures in both works although in different connections, and the wreck of the Grecian fleet is mentioned in both (C. 356 f.: Th. 17, 119). Moschus (3, 38) represents the Satyrs, Priapi, Panes and Cranides as mourning for Bion. The spirit of this poem is reflected in the sixth *Eclogue* of Vergil, and it may be that the wailing is assigned to the Nymphs because the *Culex* (115 ff.) had already utilized the Panes, Satyri, Dryades and Naiades.

If Vergil wrote the *Culex* it is fair to assume that his poetic attitude was the same as it was in each successive work to that which preceded. In these there is abundant evidence that Vergil not only repeated but adapted his own words, or, if you will, imitated himself, and the result is the same as if the variation had been by some other writer. Out of the mass of examples we select a few which clearly show his attitude to his past work. At times a single word in the line is changed: *harundine* for *avena* (*Ecl.* 6, 8: 1, 2); *cogitur* for *frangitur* (*Georg.* 4, 420: *Aen.* 1, 161); *laetos* for *tutos* (*Aen.* 1, 571: 8, 170); *fatis* for *odiis* (*Aen.* 1, 667: 8, 292); *comportare* for *convectare* (*Aen.* 9, 613: 7, 749). The changing of words in a group is not unusual: *Damnabis tu quoque votis* (*Ecl.* 5, 80): *vocabitur hic quoque votis* (*Aen.* 1, 290); *Rhoetumque Pholumque* | *Et magno Hylaem* (*Georg.* 2, 456 f.): *Hylaeumque Pholumque* | . . . *et vastum . . . leonem* (*Aen.* 8, 294). Even better examples than these are the varied associations of *modis . . . miris* which he drew from Lucretius:

Georg. 1, 477: . . . *simulacra modis pallentia miris*;
Aen. 10, 821: *Ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris*;
Aen. 7, 89: *Multa modis simulacra vidit volitantia miris*;
Aen. 1, 354: . . . *ora modis attollens pallida miris*;
Georg. 4, 309: . . . *visenda modis animalia miris*.

At times one line is consciously modeled after the fashion of another, as in *Georg.* 4, 286: *Aen.* 1, 371:

Expeditam prima repetens ab origine famam;
O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam.

Here O dea si take the place of *expeditam* at the beginning, and a dissyllabic verb the place of a dissyllabic noun at the end of the verse. In *Aen.* 1, 216 and 7, 124 the last half of the line is changed:

Postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae:
Postquam exempta fames et amor compressus edendi.

Noticeable are *Aen.* 1, 147 and 5, 819:

Aen. 1, 147: Atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas:
Aen. 5, 819: Caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru.

In these only *levis* and *summa* are the same words, but with different forms, *perlabitur* becomes *per . . . volat*, so that either in words or in forms there is a complete change in the expression of the same facts. A less noticeable variation is resonant late plangoribus aedes (*Aen.* 12, 607) for cavae plangoribus aedes | Feminis ululant (*id.* 2, 487 f.). Here also may be mentioned some longer passages developed in different parts of Vergil's works, as the account of Nisus and Euryalus (*Aen.* 5, 294-6: 9, 175-181); the Helen episodes (*id.* 2, 567-588: 6, 494-530); the historical sections (*id.* 6, 760-853: 8, 626-731); and, worked later into similes, the mention of the ants (*Georg.* 1, 185: *Aen.* 4, 402-7); the work of the bees (*Georg.* 4, 158 ff.: *Aen.* 1, 430-6); the picture of the serpent (*Georg.* 3, 437-9: *Aen.* 2, 470-5).

The poetic attitude of the writer of the *Culex* is the same as that of Vergil in his earlier works. He begins with the editorial *lusimus*, and the *Georgics* close with the direct *lusi*, and *Thalia* (C. 1) is the same as in *Ecl.* 6, 2. A promise of something better is given, as in *Georg.* 3, 10 ff., and Hesiod is introduced as in *Ecl.* 6, 70; and *Georg.* 2, 176. Magna Pales (*Georg.* 3, 1) and veneranda Pales (*ibid.* 294) take the place of sancta Pales (C. 20). In the development of the story there are some pieces of phraseology which occur also in the works of Vergil, and *per se* these may be taken as material carried over by Vergil from the *Culex*, or selected by a later writer: Iam magis atque magis (C. 169: *Georg.* 3, 185); hinc atque hinc (C. 16; 221: *Aen.* 1, 162 *et al.*); omne decus (C. 341: *Ecl.* 5, 34); bacchata iugis (C. 113: *Aen.* 3, 125); alter in alterius (C. 256: *Aen.* 2, 667); duplicare umbras (C. 204: *Ecl.* 2, 67); nescia fati (C. 145: *Aen.* 1, 299); Hec-toreum corpus (C. 324: *Aen.* 2, 542); sine iudice sedes (C. 275: *Aen.* 6, 431). Some other passages show changes of the same kind as those which Vergil himself made: Meis adlabere coeptis (C. 25): audacibus adnue coeptis (*Georg.* 1, 40); scrupula . . . cava (C. 51): spelunca . . . scrupula (*Aen.* 6, 237); adversas praeferre faces (C. 262): funereasque inferre faces (*Aen.* 7, 337); feror avia carpens (C. 231): avia . . . dum sequor (*Aen.* 2, 737); taedis . . . collucent (C. 217): collucere faces (*Aen.* 4, 567); collucent ignes (*id.* 9, 166). The subjunctive transition sed nos ad coepta feramus (C. 41) is inferior to et nos cedamus amori (*Ecl.* 10, 69), and to sollicitos Galli dicamus amores

(*ibid* 6). There are also entire lines similarly constructed, yet with some variations, giving fine illustrations of variational adaptation. In the first of the following pairs of lines, *ferrugine* is substituted for the usual *caligine* (C. 273: *Georg.* 1, 467):

Nec maesta obtenta Ditis ferrugine regna:
Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit.

The words in the next pair are framed around similar verbs, and, although having different adjectives, both lines have a preponderance of dactyls (C. 100: *Ecl.* 6, 8):

Compacta solidum modulatur harundine carmen:
Agrestem tenui meditabor harundine musam.

Other instances are (C. 221: *Aen.* 6, 419):

Anguibus hinc atque hinc horrent* cui colla reflexis:
Cui vates horrere videns iam colla colubris;

(C. 302 f.: *Aen.* 2, 276):

... referens a navibus ignis
Argolicis Phrygios turba trepidante repulsos:
Vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignes;

(C. 236: *Georg.* 1, 280; *Aen.* 6, 583):

Conati quondam cum sint rescindere mundum:
Et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres,
Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam;
Qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum | Adgressi.

Repeated or varied elements in the *Culex* are many and include many forms of statement. *Lusinus* ... *lusimus* (1; 3) says the author, and addresses *Octavi* (1; 25) and *sancte puer* (26; 37). We find *impia* (124-5) *quercus* (134-5) *imminet* (57; 90). Of the gnat *cogor adire* (211; 373); *agor* (216, 260), *rapior* (212), *feror* (231), *auferor* (258), and *terreor* (239) twice, as also *ite* 245, and *Ityn* 253. *Sede pia* (39 is repeated (375), but usually words are differently associated, as *gloria lucens* (38): *crista lucens* (172); *per aevum* (38): *per annos* (40); *squamosos orbes* (167): *squamosi draconis* (195); *compellente pastore* (104): *grege compulso* (204); *implexae brachia* (129): *ligantes brachia* (141); *obvia Tisiphone* (218): *o. Persephone* (261); *serpentibus compta* (218): *vinctus s.* (234); *Telemonia virtus* (297): *Telemonius heros* (315). There are equivalent words on the same stem, as *vagae* (48): *vagantes* (49); *maculatus* (164): *maculatur* (172); *torquebat* (167): *torquetur* (180). Practical equivalence is shown in 50 *tondebant tenero morsu*: 54 *rapit carpente morsu*; in the fountains (78: 148):

Semper opaca novis manantia fontibus antra:
His suberat gelidis manans e fontibus unda.

Noon is thrice described 42 f., 101 ff. and 107. Five lines (97 ff.) containing *requievit* ... *soporem* ... *somno* and *quietem* announce that the shepherd is asleep in the shade, while three (205 ff.) containing *requiem* ... *somnus* and *sopore* put him to sleep in the evening. All the phases above illustrated are characteristic of the works of

Vergil, and for the *Culex* they may be fairly considered embryonic, Vergil later reducing them to milder proportions.

The general ethical attitude of the writer is set forth (C. 225 ff.):

Praemia sunt pietatis ubi, pietatis honores?
In vanas abiere vices, ex rure recessit
Iustitiae prior illa fides.

A part of this is in condensed form (*Aen.* 1, 253) hic pietatis honos; the remainder is in *Georg.* 2, 473 extrema per illos | Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit. The words applied to Orpheus (C. 292 ff.):

Sed tu crudelis, crudelis tu magis, Orpheu,
Oscula cara petens rupisti iussa deorum.
Dignus amor venia, gratum, si Tartara nossent,
Peccatum; meminisse gravest,

are also distributed in Vergil, the first part coming from *Ecl.* 8, 48 and 50 in an entirely different connection, and with an abbreviation in *Georg.* 4, 356; and *Aen.* 1, 407. The condition in the second part has a finer setting (*Georg.* 4, 489):

Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes.

The reason assigned in this section for the backward look of Orpheus—victusque animi respexit—is certainly far more dignified than that in the *Culex*, whose words meminisse gravest are dull compared with the inspirational haec olim meminisse iuvabit (*Aen.* 1, 203). With the specific statement (C. 254):

At discordantes Cadmeo semine fratres,

may be compared the mention of *discordia* (*Georg.* 4, 68), when two kings are striving for mastery among the bees, and also with the general statement (*id.* 2, 496) et infidos agitans discordia.

There are several touches in Vergil the same as in the *Culex*, as if one artistic eye had viewed the scene. The picture beginning O bona pastoris, si quis (C. 57 ff.) resembles *Georg.* 2, 458 ff. which also commences with a condition:

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint | Agricolae.

The end desired latis otia fundis (*id.* 468) definitely locates (C. 72):

Otiacque invidiae degentem fraude remota,

the latter part of which is used by Seneca. The shepherd may be taken as the prototype of Tityrus, each lentus in herba (C. 159; *Ecl.* 1, 4). See also C. 213:

Tu lentus refoves iucunda membra quiete.

He leads forth his flocks in early morn (C. 45) just as Vergil enjoins (*Georg.* 3, 322 ff.), and likewise at noonday (C. 108; 122) he seeks the shade and there lies down, proiectus membra (C. 158) as Tityrus *proiectus* (*Ecl.* 1, 95). The *Culex* describes the environment in far-fetched terms (74 f.):

. . . viridi cum palma lucens
Tmolia pampineo subter coma velat amictu.

Vergil has a simpler statement *pampineas . . . umbras* (*Ecl.* 7, 58). Near by is the *lenta salix* (C. 55: *Ecl.* 3, 83; 5, 16) as well as the ivy. Notice the variation in the description: *hederaeque nitor pallente corymbos* (C. 405) *diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos* (*Ecl.* 3, 39), and *pallentesque hederas* (*Georg.* 4, 124). The *cicadae* furnish the music:

C. 154: *Argutis et cuncta fremunt ardore cicadis;*
Ecl. 2, 13: *Sole sub ardente resonant arbusta cicadis;*
Georg. 3, 328: *Et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae.*

The serpent is noticeable both in the *Culex* and in Vergil's later works. The *Culex* one appears in the heat of summer (C. 164 ff.):

Mersus ut in limo magno sub sideris aestu,

Obvia vibranti carpens gravis aere lingua
Squamosos late torquebat motibus orbes.

But it is languid compared with the one (*Georg.* 3, 432):

Postquam exusta palus, terraeque ardore dehiscunt,
Exilit in siccum et flammantia lumina torquens
Saevit agris, asperque siti atque exterritus aestu.

It should be noted that after describing this serpent in Calabria, as if with the near death of the shepherd in mind, Vergil warns against sleeping in the open air. The *Culex* serpent is not like those which came from off the sea at Tenedos (*Aen.* 2, 203), for one of such a kind would surely have crushed the shepherd. The physical description (C. 164; 170 ff.):

Immanis vario maculatus corpore serpens,

Attollit nitidis pectus fulgoribus, effert
Sublimi cervice caput, cui crista superne
Edita purpureo lucens maculatur amictu
Aspectuque micant flammularum lumina torvo,

resembles *Georg.* 3, 427 ff.:

Atque notis longam maculosus grandibus alvum,

the last three words of verse 433 (see above) being a variation of the ending in the *Culex* quotation. *Vibranti lingua* (C. 166) is in the plural in *Aen.* 2, 211. *Nitidusque iuventa* (*Georg.* 3, 437) is more graphic than *nitidis fulgoribus*, while *arduus ad solem* (*ibid.* 439) and *sublato pectore . . . arduus ad solem* (*Aen.* 2, 474 f.) are an advance on the *Culex*. The words *purpureo amictu* are far better applied in *Aen.* 3, 405:

Purpureo velare comam adopertus amictu,

and one can hardly imagine an imitator transferring a part of a priestly injunction from Aeneas and applying it to a serpent. The same is true of *intonat ore* (C. 179: *Aen.* 6, 607) which fits *Furiarum maxima* only, as *tonat ore* (*Aen.* 4, 510) does a priestess. Instead of this we should expect that an imitator would have chosen for imitation *sibilat ore* | *Arduus insurgens* (*Aen.* 11, 754 f.). *Furit aether mugitibus* (*Georg.* 3, 150) surpasses *furit stridoribus* (C. 179), and

iubaeque | Sanguineae superant undas (*Aen.* 2, 203 f.) is certainly far above C. 181:

Manant sanguineae per tractus undique guttae.

The adjective, somewhat of a favorite with Vergil, occurs again in C. 22 sanguinei . . . luminis. These words are part of a three line description of Cerberus which does not equal the corresponding lines in *Aen.* 6, 417 ff.

The portrayal of the gnat parvulus . . . umoris . . . alumnus (C. 183) is far-fetched, but not Tityon | Terrae omniparentis alumnus (*Aen.* 6, 595). The departure of the former, extrema tristis cum voce recessit (C. 384) with little change, pedem cum voce repressit (*Aen.* 2, 378), better suits Androgeus. The tumulus erected levi de marmore . . . rivum prope aquae (C. 397; 390) lacks the definiteness in location of *Georg.* 3, 13:

Et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenera praetexit harundine ripas.

The poem closes with an epitaph the wording of which differs from that of Daphnis (*Ecl.* 5, 44), but the statement of the flowers strewn, his tumulus super inseritur, resembles tumulo super addite carmen (*Ecl.* 5, 42).

There is a close resemblance between the *Culex* and the works of the mature Vergil in the description of points of time. The form of statement in describing the movements of the sun (C. 42) and (107):

Iam medias operum partes evectus erat sol,

is repeated in the *Georgics* (4, 425 ff.):

. . . medium sol igneus orbem
Hauserat; arebant herbae, et cava flumina siccis
Faucibus ad limum radii tepefacta coquebant;

and also in the *Aeneid* (6, 536):

Iam medium aethereo cursu traicerat axem.

The variation Sol aureus occurs in *Georg.* 4, 51, and in reverse order in Ovid *Met.* 7, 663. The combination of the pluperfect and imperfect indicative in similar descriptions is followed by Vergil, as in *Aen.* 3, 589 f.; 4, 6, f.; 5, 835 f.; 6, 536 (imp. subj.). Ovid followed the lead of Vergil, as in *Met.* 3, 144 f.:

Iamque dies medius rerum contraxerat umbras
Et sol ex aequo meta distabat utraque.

The verbal coloring introduced into the works of Vergil by means of figures of rhetoric attracted the attention of Servius¹¹ and this is an important element in the style of the *Culex*. The judgment of Mrs. Laubscher on this point is as follows: ¹²

¹¹ J. L. Moore, *Servius on the Tropes and Figures of Vergil*. A. J. P. XII, 157-192.

¹² Mrs. Cora Rolfe Laubscher, *The Authorship of the Culex and the Ciris: A History of the Problem and a New Line of Approach*. Cornell University Thesis, Ithaca New York, 1927. Abstract read before the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Nashville, Tennessee, April 6, 1928.

"External evidences, metrical considerations, the nature of parallel passages, indications from the use of sources, general tone and style as an imitation of a Greek original—all point to the *Culex* as a youthful work of Vergil. The evidence from a study of the Figures of Speech supports this conclusion."

In the mythological element there is evidence that one writer was supplementing the work of another, something that we should not expect to be done by an imitator. The *Culex* names the actors (234, f.):

Nam vinctus sedet immanis serpentibus Otos,
Devinctum maestus procul aspiciens Ephialten,
Conati quondam cum sint rescindere mundum.

Vergil sums up the situation in one line (*Georg.* 1, 280):

Et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres,

following this with a reference to the mountains as in *Aetna* 49, and closing with a slight variation from *id.* 64. In the *Aeneid* (6, 582 ff.) Vergil has Aloidas geminos, and uses *rescindere* as does the *Culex*, and *detrudere* as does the *Aetna*. In the following lines the *Culex* (237 ff.) refers to Tityos, Tantalus and Sisyphus, but does not mention Ixion, the only one in *Georg.* 4, 484:

Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis.

With this compare *Aetna* 83 idemque rotant Ixionis orbem. Lucretius also (3, 978 ff.) does not mention Ixion, the writer of the *Culex* following him as the one source before him.

The *Culex* has the episode of Orpheus within the story of the gnat's experience in the lower world, while Vergil gives the experience of Orpheus in the *Georgics* (4, 453 ff.), and that of Aeneas in the *Aeneid* (6, 268 ff.). The narrative of the gnat cannot be evolved from that of Vergil or vice versa. The *heroides* (C. 261 ff.) do not resemble even remotely the unfortunates on the *Lugentes Campi* (*Aen.* 6, 441 ff.), nor are the Grecian heroes (C. 296 ff.) those met by Aeneas (*Aen.* 6, 479 ff.). At the entrance, tristes densentur in ostia Poenae (C. 233), and Otos, Ephialtes and Tityos are mentioned. Vergil has (*Aen.* 6, 273) in faucibus Orci which is thronged with abstractions, as Luctus, and such beings as Centauri. The gnat ad stygias revocatus aquas (C. 240) sees Tantalus, Sisyphus, Medea, and some others. The first of these are placed by Vergil (*Aen.* 6, 549 ff.) within the walls

Quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis
Tartareus Phlegethon,

and with them is Tisiphone and Rhadamanthus as judge. The description of Tisiphone is similar (C. 218), but the location of the place is far different:

At mea manes
Viscera Lethaeas cogunt tranare per undas.
Praeda Charonis agor. Vidi ut flagrantia taedis
Limina conluent infernis omnia templis.
Obvia Tisiphone, serpentibus undique compta,
Et flammis et saeva quatit mihi verbera .Pone
Cerberus . . .

In the final scene (C. 372 ff.) Minos is the judge:

... Ego Ditis opacos
Cogor adire lacus, viduus a lumine Phoebi,
Et vastum Phlegethonta pati, quo, maxime Minos,
Conscelerata pia discernis vincula sede.

But Vergil has him (*Aen.* 6, 432) immediately after Cerberus as judge of milder crimes. The swimming of the gnat through the Lethaeon waves (C. 215) did not bring longa oblivia (*Aen.* 6, 715) as the drinking brought to the spirits of men, nor from the description would one imagine that the river encircled Elysium as in the *Aeneid* (6, 705) domos placidas qui praevenat.

The orderly development of the movements as were those of Aeneas is not reflected in the *Culex*; but at the same time there are verbal similarities which give evidence of a close connection. Ardentibus undis, used in describing the Phlegethon (C. 272), is rhetorically akin to flammis ... torrentibus. Tisiphone ... saeva quatit verbera combines words separated by Vergil (*Aen.* 6, 567 f.; 571). Sine iudice, sedes is associated with an unnamed judge in the story about Orpheus (C. 275); with Minos in *Aen.* 6, 431. The *Culex* has 283 f.) Luna ... menstrua Virgo, longer than Vergil's luna ... menstrua (*Georg.* 1, 353). Euboicas cautes is in both works (C. 354: *Aen.* 11, 260), and in both Caphereus is associated. Crudelis, crudelis tu magis (C. 292) is limited to a single word in *Georg.* 4, 355; *Aen.* 1, 407. Both works express in conditional form their views of the error of Orpheus (C. 294: *Georg.* 4, 489), but the action of Orpheus and the reflection of the writer fall far below the similar material in Vergil. The words of the *Culex* (302):

... referens a navibus ignes
Argolicis Phrygios turba trepidante repulso,

and *Aen.* 2, 276:

Vel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignes,

represent a modified form of statement, and a transfer to a different party of the same activities.

There is a noticeable connection between the *Culex* and *Eclogue* 6. The Introduction (verses 1-12) has *pagina* (C. 26; Ci. 41) and *Thalia* (C. 1) not afterwards used by the mature Vergil, and *versu* (C. 1) in only one other passage (*Georg.* 3, 339). The abjuration of war as a fitting subject for poetical development by the author is the same as in C. 26 ff. The poetical attitude expressed in *ludere* is the same as in *ludere gaudent* (C. 37) and *lusimus ... lusimus* (C. 1 and 3). The theme proper is introduced by Pergite Pierides (13), the verb from the refrain in Theocritus 1, 64 *et al.*; the noun from *id.* 10, 24; 103, suggesting Greek Bucolic influence for the entire *Eclogue*. This also is indicated in the opening line:

Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu
Nostra neque erubuit silvas habitare Thalia.

This can be compared with the opening line of the *Culex*:

Lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia.

Vergil has (*Ecl.* 2, 60 ff.):

Habitarunt di quoque silvas
Dardaniusque Paris. Pallas quas condidit arces
Ipsa colat; nobis placeant ante omnia silvae.

The last theme is also in *Ecl.* 4, 1 ff.:

Sicilides Musae paulo maiora canamus.
Non omnes arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;
Si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae.

Compare with these *Ecl.* 10, 8 respondent omnia silvae. Individual trees are mentioned in different *Eclogues* as in the Greek *Bucolics*, but it is in the *Culex* only (97; 108; 122) that Vergil presents a scene in the shade of a forest, and this scene was primarily expressed in Syracusan verse.

A similar solution is at hand for the relation of the *Culex* (58-97) to the *Georgics* (2, 458-540). The picture of the happy life given in the former is based on Lucretius (2, 1-54); and there are a dozen touches showing manipulation of the words of the latter. A few illustrations will suffice: *Prostratus* (L. 29: C. 69); auroque renidet (L. 27): nitor auri (C. 63); belli certamina (L. 5): certamina classis (C. 82); iucundo sensu (L. 19): sensuque probando (C. 80). Vergil has a few immaterial touches which are like those in the *Culex*: Sacra deum (*Georg.* 2, 473): sancta deum (C. 83); O Panes, O gratissima tempe (C. 94) is distributed by Vergil, frigida Tempe (*id.* 469) and (493):

Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.

The reference to sleep (*id.* 470) mollesque sub arbore molles | Non absunt, varies from C. 93:

Iucundoque liget languentia corpora somno,

and C. 62 is improved in *Georg.* 2, 465. The *Culex* was written with an eye to Lucretius alone, and makes the farmer the center of a picture with the same poetic coloring as is seen in the earlier poet. The portrayal by Vergil is a more independent one, and in this respect is strongly contrasted with the earlier imitative work in the *Culex*.

If it is the province of the poet to give

"to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name,"

the writer of the *Culex* was certainly a poet. The words procedit Vesper ab Oeta (C. 203) may indicate a Grecian source, or it may be merely conventional, as the similar use of Olympos (*Ecl.* 6, 86), the location of sunrise at the same point by Lygdamus (Tibullus 3, 4, 21) and by the author of the *Ciris* (350) even though the mountain is westward from Megara. The young writer freely utilizes material from Latin poets, especially Lucretius and Catullus, as well as from the Greek *Bucolic* poets. This early material may be accounted for as part of his early educational course. Had he lived after Vergil and Ovid we should expect that he would place the most reliance on

these especially on the most prolific—Ovid. The latter says of himself (*Tristia* 4, 10, 55):

Utque ego maiores, sic me coluere minores.

But the writer of the *Culex* modeled his meter on that of Lucretius, and found in him a color scheme and many pieces of phraseology. In Catullus he found the model for his grouping of pairs of adjectives and nouns. In some respects his style unfolds into the works of Vergil as his earlier works unfolded into the later. Parallel passages from Ausonius to Lucan indicate that these writers used a *Culex* as we have it, and there is evidence that it was ascribed to Vergil. Preceding these were other poets drawing material freely from Vergil, and from the *Culex*, and their use of both may be fairly interpreted as indicating a definite knowledge in regard to the authorship of the poem. Affirmative tests applied, with the exception of that of elision, lead to the conclusion that Vergil was the author. This test shows that quantitatively the *Culex* is not further from the *Eclogues* than these are from the *Georgics*; that qualitatively the differences are not greater than is shown between some of the authentic works of Ovid.

Even if we admit the possibility of authorship by some other writer than Vergil, it does not follow that such an author could have successfully worked off the *Culex* on the public as the production of Vergil. Propertius died in 16, Horace in 8 and Pollio in 4 B.C. These poets knew and utilized the works of Vergil, and would have been the first to cry out against the authenticity of a poem not appearing until after his death. The same conclusion must be drawn in regard to the teachers of Germanicus and Manilius who must have been in a position to know whether the poem was written before or after the death of Vergil. The same is true of the Elder Seneca who, knowing the facts, would have kept Lucan from believing that the *Culex* was the work of Vergil.

The concurrent use of the *Culex* and of the works of the mature Vergil finds its explanation in the validity of the ascription of the former to Vergil. The literary executors of Vergil, zealous for his reputation, administered, as is well known, the larger part of the legacy left in their hands. It is a fair assumption that this same zeal was shown in letting the public know, if this was necessary, just what composed the poetical heritage left by Vergil, and, under these conditions and at that time, a poem such as the *Culex* could not have been passed off as Vergil's.

It is not necessary to postulate an apocalyptic Introduction to the poem, for the content was largely drawn by a student from earlier works, and the personal attitude shown is in perfect harmony with that of Vergil. The Invocation (C. 25 f.) beginning *Octavi venerande*, as well as the wish associated with *puer* (C. 37 ff.); the declaration in regard to the *puer*, in all probability the son of Octavianus, (*Ecl.* 4, 16):

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem;

that in *Georg.* 1, 25 ff., and that at the close of the *Georgics* (4, 560 ff.) Caesar . . . viamque adfectat Olympo, taken in connection with *Aen.* 1, 290 vocabitur hic quoque votis, form a series indicating the attitude of Vergil toward the later Augustus. The first is entirely in harmony with the others, and is such as we should expect from one who afterwards so highly lauded the emperor (*Aen.* 6, 789).

It has been urged that the ascription to Vergil arose in an uncritical age, but it must be borne in mind that this ascription did not come as the result of critical analyses of the poem. It was based on some fact, and a fact in the knowledge of the uncritical is weightier than a theory in the thought of the critical. The fact does not seem to have been questioned by any in a position to ascertain the history of the work. This applies to the men of the generation of Vergil, and of that immediately following. And it is within these limitations of time that the poem must be placed, for to place it at a later period would remove it too far from one of the main bases of literary supplies, the works of Catullus, Lucretius and Cicero, as well as the earlier poets. Our object has been to determine whether the various lines of evidence support the ascription. This the affirmative phases do, and the negative, the non-recurring element and that in which variation from the usage of Vergil is shown, can be explained partly on the ground that it reflects the usage of the works which Vergil had or was studying, and partly on the ground that, in the years between the *Culex* and his later works, he developed a finer discrimination in the use of words. When we consider the fact that the *Culex* is only one-half the length of the *Eclogues*, and one-thirtieth of all the works of the mature Vergil, the similar parts are as numerous as one could reasonably expect. The indications of improvement after the lapse of years can be as fairly explained as due to the genetic development of Vergil, as on the basis that an imitator weakened the poet's statements. In some instances the second alternative would make a later writer guilty of some inartistic transfers. These can better be considered as instances of art undeveloped, rather than of art misdirected. If similar inequalities in poetic expression are sought, they can be found in the *Festus* of the brilliant young barrister, Philip James Bailey. His flight is sometimes high, as in:

We live in deeds, not years; in thoughts, not breaths;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most—feels the noblest—acts the best.
Life's but a means unto an end—that end
Beginning, mean and end to all things—God.

A little farther on we find:

Go, locks which have
The golden embrowment of a lion's eye.

The acclaim which met this poem has died away; but in the *Culex*, some parts of which were afterwards more artistically presented, and which by other poets was kept in the current of Latin poetry, there is still an interest as the first fruits of the muse of Master Vergil.

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